Behemoth,

THE

HISTORY

Of the Causes of the

Civil-Wars

OF

ENGLAND,

And of the Councels and Artifices by which they were carried on, from the year 1640. to the year 1660.

Written by

THOMAS HOBBS of *Malmsbury.*

Printed from the Author's true Copy.

Bella per Angliacos pluſquam civilia campos,
Juſque datum ſceleri loquimur ——

LONDON,

Printed for *W. Crooke* at the *Green-Dragon* without *Temple-Bar,* MDCLXXXII.

THE
HISTORY
Civil-Wars
OF
ENGLAND,

THE BOOKSELLER TO THE READER.

MY Duty, as well to the Publick as to the Memory of Mr. Hobbs, *has obliged me to procure, with my utmoſt diligence, that theſe Tracts ſhould come forth with the moſt correct exactneſs.*

I am compell'd by the force of Truth to declare, how much both the World, and the Name of Mr. Hobbs *have been abus'd by the ſeveral ſpurious Editions of the History of the Civil Wars; wherein, by various and unskilful Tranſcriptions, are committed above a thouſand faults, and in above a hundred places whole Lines left out, as I can make appear.*

I muſt confeſs Mr. Hobbs, *upon ſome conſiderations, was averſe to the publiſhing thereof; but ſince it is impoſſible to ſuppreſs*

it,

it, no Book being more commonly sold by all Booksellers, I hope I need not fear the Offence of any Man, by doing Right to the World and this Work. Which I now Publish from the Original Manuscript, done by his own Amanuensis, and given me by himself above twelve years since.

To this I have joyn'd the Treatise against Arch-Bishop Bramhall, *to prevent the like prejudice, which must certainly have fain on it, (there being so many false Copies abroad) if not thus prevented; as also the Discourse of Heresie from a more correct Copy; and have likewise annex'd his Physical Problems, as they were translated by himself, and presented to His Majesty, with the Epistle prefix'd, in the Year 1662. at the same time they came forth in* Latin.

These things premis'd, there remains nothing but to wish for my self good sale, to the Buyer much pleasure and satisfaction.

Your Humble Servant,

William Crooke.

Behemoth,

OR THE

EPITOME

OF THE

Civil Wars

OF

ENGLAND.

PART I.

A. IF in time, as in place there were degrees of high and low, I verily believe that the higheſt of time, would be that which paſſed between 1640. and 1660. for he that thence, as from the Devils Mountain, ſhould have looked upon the World, and obſerv'd the Actions of

Men, especially in *England*, might have had a Prospect of all kinds of Injustice, and of all kinds of Folly that the World could afford, and how they were produced by their Hypocrisie and self conceit, whereof the one is double Iniquity, and the other double Folly.

B. I should be glad to behold that Prospect. You that have liv'd in that time, and in that part of your Age, wherein Men use to see best into good and evil; I pray you set me (that could not see so well) upon the same Mountain by the Relation of the Actions you then saw, and of their Causes, Pretensions, Justice, Order, Artifice, and Event.

A. In the Year 1640. the Government of *England* was Monarchical, and the King that reigned, *Charles* the first of that name, holding the Sovereignty, by right of a descent continued above 600 years, and from a much longer descent, King of *Scotland*, and from the time of his Ancestors *Henry* the second, King of *Ireland*, a Man that wanted no vertue, either of Body or Mind; nor endeavour'd any thing more, than to discharge his Duty towards God, in the well governing of his Subjects.

B. How could he then miscarry, having in every County so many Trained Soldiers as would (put together) have made an Army

Army of 60000 Men, and divers Magazines of Ammunition in places fortified?

A. If those Soldiers had been (as they and all other of his Subjects ought to have been) at his Majesties command, the Peace and Happiness of the three Kingdoms had continued, as it was left by King *James*; but the People were corrupted generally, and disobedient persons esteemed the best Patriots.

B. But sure there were Men enough besides those, that were ill-affected, to have made an Army sufficient to have kept the People from uniting into a Body able to oppose him.

A. Truly I think, if the King had had Money, he might have had Soldiers enough in *England*; for there were very few of the Common People that cared much for either of the Causes, but would have taken any side for pay and plunder; but the Kings Treasure was very low, and his Enemies that pretended the Peoples ease from Taxes, and other specious things, had the command of the Purses of the City of *London*, and of most Cities and Corporate Towns in *England*, and of many particular persons besides.

B. But how came the People to be so corrupted? and what kind of People were they that did so seduce them?

A. The Seducers were of divers ſorts. One ſort were Miniſters, Miniſters (as they call'd themſelves) of Chriſt; and ſometimes in their Sermons to the People, God's Ambaſſadors, pretending to have a right from God to govern every one his Pariſh, and their Aſſembly the whole Nation.

Secondly, there were a very great number, though not comparable to the other, which notwithſtanding that the Popes power in *England*, both Temporal and Eccleſiaſtical had been by Act of Parliament aboliſhed, did ſtill retain a belief, that we ought to be governed by the Pope, whom they pretended to be the Vicar of Chriſt, and in the Right of Chriſt to be the Governour of all Chriſtian People; and theſe were known by the Name of Papiſts, as the Miniſters I mentioned before were commonly called Presbyterians.

Thirdly, There were not a few, who in the beginning of the Troubles were not diſcovered, but ſhortly after declared themſelves for a Liberty in Religion, and thoſe of different Opinions one from another; ſome of them (becauſe they would have all Congregations free and independent upon one another) were called Independents: Others that held Baptiſm to Infants, and ſuch as underſtood not into what they are baptized to be ineffectual, were called therefore

fore Anabaptists. Others that held that Christ's Kingdom was at this time to begin upon the Earth, were called Fifth-monarchy-men; besides divers other Sects, as Quakers, Adamites, &c. whose Names and peculiar Doctrines I do not well remember; and these were the Enemies which arose against his Majesty from the private Interpretation of the Scripture, exposed to every Man's scanning in his Mother Tongue.

Fourthly, There were an exceeding great number of Men of the better sort, that had been so educated, as that in their Youth, having read the Books written by famous Men of the ancient Grecian and Roman Common-wealths, concerning their Politie, and great Actions; in which Books the Popular Government was extoll'd by that glorious Name of Liberty, and Monarchy disgraced by the Name of Tyranny, they became thereby in love with their Forms of Government; and out of these Men were chosen the greatest part of the House of Commons; or if they were not the greatest part, yet by advantage of their Eloquence, were always able to sway the rest.

Fifthly, The City of *London*, and other great Towns of Trade, having in admiration the prosperity of the Low-Countries, after they had revolted from their Monarch

the King of *Spain*, were inclin'd to think, that the like change of Government here, would to them produce the like prosperity.

Sixthly, There were a very great number that had either wasted their Fortunes, or thought them too mean for the good Parts they thought were in themselves, and more there were that had able Bodies, but saw no means how honestly to get their Bread: These long'd for a War, and hoped to maintain themselves hereafter by the lucky chooſing of a Party to side with, and consequently did, for the most part, serve under them that had greatest plenty of Money.

Lastly, The People in general were so ignorant of their duty, as that not one perhaps of 10000 knew what right any man had to command him, or what necessity there was of King or Common-wealth, for which he was to part with his Money against his will, but thought himself to be so much Master of whatsoever he possess'd, that it could not be taken from him upon any pretence of common safety without his own consent. King they thought was but a Title of the highest Honour which Gentleman, Knight, Baron, Earl, Duke were but steps to ascend to, with the help of Riches, and had no Rule of Equity, but Presidents and Custom, and he was thought wisest and fittest to be chosen for a Parliament

ment that was moſt averſe to the granting of Subſidies, or other publick Payments.

B. In ſuch a conſtitution of People, methinks the King is already outed of his Government, ſo as they need not have taken Arms for it; for I cannot imagine how the King ſhould come by any means to reſiſt them.

A. There was indeed very great difficulty in the buſineſs; but of that Point you will be better inform'd in the purſuit of this Narration.

B. But I deſire to know firſt the ſeveral Grounds of the Pretences, both of the Pope, and of the Presbyterians, by which they claim a Right to govern us, as they do, in chief, and after that from whence, and when crept in the Pretences of that long Parliament for a Democracy.

A. As for the Papiſts, they challenge this Right from a Text in *Deut.* 17. and other like Texts, according to the old Latin Tranſlation in theſe words. *And he that out of pride ſhall refuſe to obey the Commandment of that Prieſt, which ſhall at that time miniſter before the Lord thy God; that Man ſhall, by the Sentence of the Judge, be put to death.* And becauſe, as the Jews were the People of God then, ſo is all Chriſtendome the People of God now; they infer from thence, that the Pope,

whom they pretend to be the High-Priest of all Christian People, ought also to be obeyed in all his Decrees, by all Christians, upon pain of death. Again; whereas in the New Testament Christ saith, *All Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth; go therefore and teach all Nations, and baptize them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and teach them to observe all these things that I have commanded you.* From thence they infer, that the Command of the Apostles was to be obeyed, and by consequence the Nations were bound to be govern'd by them, and especially by the Prince of the Apostles St. *Peter*, and by his Successors the Popes of *Rome*.

B. For the Text in the Old Testament, I do not see how the Commandment of God to the Jews to obey their Priests, can be interpreted to have the like force in the Case of other Nations Christian, more than upon Nations Unchristian; for all the World are Gods People; unless we also grant, that a King cannot of an Infidel be made Christian, without making himself subject to the Laws of that Apostle, or Priest, or Minister that shall convert him. The Jews were a peculiar People of God, a Sacerdotal Kingdom, and bound to no other Law, but what first *Moses*, and afterwards every High-

High-Prieſt did go and receive immediately from the mouth of God in Mount *Sinai*, in the Tabernacle of the Ark, and in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of the Temple. And for the Text in St. *Mathew*, I know the Words in the Goſpel are not *Go teach*, but *Go and make Diſciples*; and that there is a great difference between a Subject and a Diſciple, and between Teaching and Commanding. And if ſuch Texts as theſe muſt be ſo interpreted, why do not Chriſtian Kings lay down their Titles of Majeſty and Sovereignty, and call themſelves the Popes Lieutenants? But the Doctors of the Romiſh Church ſeem to decline that Title of Abſolute Power, in their diſtinction of Power Spiritual and Temporal; but this diſtinction I do not very well underſtand.

A. By Spiritual Power they mean the Power to determine Points of Faith, and to be Judges in the Inner Court of Conſcience, of Moral Duties, and of a Power to puniſh thoſe Men that obey not their Precepts by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, that is, by Excommunication: and this Power, they ſay, the Pope hath immediately from Chriſt, without dependence upon any King, or Sovereign Aſſembly, whoſe Subjects they be that ſtand Excommunicate. But for the Power Temporal, which conſiſts in judging and puniſhing thoſe Actions that are done againſt

againſt the Civil Laws, they ſay, they do not pretend to it directly, but only indirectly, that is to ſay, ſo far forth as ſuch Actions tend to the hindrance or advancement of Religion and good Manners, which they mean when they ſay, *in ordine ad ſpiritualia.*

B. What Power then is left to Kings, and other Civil Sovereigns, which the Pope may not pretend to be his *in ordine ad ſpiritualia?*

A. None, or very little: and this Power the Pope pretends to in all Chriſtendome, but ſome of his Biſhops alſo in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, *Jure Divino*, that is, immediately from Chriſt, without deriving it from the Pope.

B. But what if a Man refuſe obedience to this pretended Power of the Pope and his Biſhops? What harm can Excommunication do him, eſpecially if he be the Subject of another Sovereign?

A. Very great harm; for by the Pope's (or Biſhop's ſignification of it, to the Civil Power, he ſhall be puniſh'd ſufficiently.

B. He were in an ill Caſe then, that adventured to write, or ſpeak in defence of the Civil Power, that muſt be puniſh'd by him, whoſe Rights he defended; like *Uzza* that was ſlain, becauſe he would needs, unbidden, put forth his Hand to keep the

Ark

Ark from falling. But what if a whole Nation ſhould revolt from the Pope at once? what effect could Excommunication have upon the Nation?

A. Why, they ſhould have no more Maſs ſaid, at leaſt by any of the Popes Prieſts: Beſides, the Pope would have no more to do with them, but caſt them off, and ſo they would be in the ſame Caſe, as if a Nation ſhould be caſt off by their King, and left to be governed by themſelves, or whom they would.

B. This would not be taken ſo much for a puniſhment to the People, as to the King; and therefore when a Pope Excommunicates a whole Nation, methinks he rather Excommunicates himſelf, than them. But I pray you tell me, what were the Rights that the Pope pretended to in the Kingdoms of other Princes?

A. Firſt, An Exemption of all Prieſts, Friars and Monks in Criminal Cauſes from the Cognizance of Civil Judges. Secondly, Collation of Benefices, on whom he pleaſed, Native or Stranger, and exaction of Tenths, Firſt-Fruits, and other Payments. Thirdly, Appeals to *Rome* in all Cauſes where the Church could pretend to be concern'd. Fourthly, To be the Supream Judge, concerning Lawfulneſs of Marriage, (*i. e.* concerning the Hereditary Succeſſion of Kings)

Kings) and to have the Cogniſance of all Cauſes concerning Adultery and Fornication.

B. Good! A Monopoly of Women.

A. Fifthly, A Power of abſolving Subjects of their Duties, and of their Oaths of Fidelity to their lawful Sovereigns, when the Pope ſhould think fit, for the extirpation of Hereſie.

B. This Power of abſolving Subjects of their Obedience, as alſo that other of being Judge of Manners and Doctrine, is as abſolute a Sovereignty as is poſſible to be, and conſequently there muſt be two Kingdoms in one and the ſame Nation, and no Man be able to know which of his Maſters he muſt obey.

A. For my part I ſhould rather obey that Maſter that had the Right of making Laws, and of inflicting Puniſhments, than him that pretendeth only to a Right of making Canons, that is to ſay, Rules, and no Right of Co-action, or otherwiſe puniſhing, but by Excommunication.

B. But the Pope pretends alſo that his Canons are Laws; and for puniſhing, can there be greater than Excommunication; ſuppoſing it true (as the Pope ſaith it is) that he that dies Excommunicate is damn'd? Which ſuppoſition, it ſeems, you believe not, elſe you would rather have choſen to obey

obey the Pope, that would caſt you Body and Soul into Hell, than the King that can only kill the Body.

A. You ſay true; for it were very uncharitable in me to believe, that all *Engliſh* men (except a few Papiſts) that have been born and called Hereticks, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion in *England* ſhould be damn'd.

B. But for thoſe that die Excommunicate in the Church of *England*, at this day, do you not think them alſo damn'd?

A. Doubtleſs he that dies in ſin without repentance, is damn'd, and he that is Excommunicate for diſobedience to the Kings Laws, either Spiritual or Temporal, is Excommunicate for ſin; and therefore, if he die Excommunicate, and without deſire of reconciliation, he dies impenitent. You ſee what follows; but to die in diſobedience to the Precepts and Doctrines of thoſe Men that have no Authority or Juriſdiction over us is quite another Caſe, and bringeth no ſuch danger with it.

B. But what is this Hereſie which the Church of *Rome* ſo cruelly perſecutes, as to depoſe Kings that do not, when they are bidden, turn all Hereticks out of their Dominions?

A. Hereſie is a word, which when it is uſed without paſſion, ſignifies a private Opinion:

pinion: So the different Sects of the old Philoſophers, Academians, Peripateticks, Epicureans, Stoicks, &c. were called Hereſies: but in the Chriſtian Church there was in the ſignification of that word comprehended a ſinful oppoſition to him that was chief Judge of Doctrines, in order to the ſalvation of Mens Souls; and conſequently Hereſie may be ſaid to bear the ſame relation to the Power Spiritual, that Rebellion doth to the Power Temporal, and is ſuitably to be perſecuted by him that will preſerve a Power Spiritual and Dominion over Mens Conſciences.

B. It would be very well (becauſe we are all of us permitted to read the Holy Scriptures, and bound to make them the Rule of our Actions, both publick and private) that Hereſie were by ſome Law defined, and the particular Opinions ſet forth, for which a man were to be condemned and puniſhed as a Heretick; for elſe, not only Men of mean capacity, but even the wiſeſt and devouteſt Chriſtian may fall into Hereſie without any will to oppoſe the Church; for the Scriptures are hard, and the Interpretations different of different men.

A. The meaning of the word Hereſie is by Law declared in an Act of Parliament in the firſt year of Queen *Elizabeth*, wherein it is ordain'd, That the perſons who had by the

the Queens Letters Patents the Authority Spiritual (meaning the High Commiſſion) ſhall not have Authority to adjudge any Matter or Cauſe to be Hereſie, but only ſuch as heretofore have been adjudged to be Hereſie by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the firſt four General Councils, or by any other General Council, where the ſame was declared Hereſie by the expreſs and plain words of the ſaid Canonical Scriptures, or ſuch as hereafter ſhall be adjudged Hereſie by the High Court of Parliament of this Realm, with the Aſſent of the Clergy in their Convocation.

B. It ſeems therefore if there ariſe any new error that hath not yet been declared Hereſie, (and many ſuch may ariſe) it cannot be judged Hereſie without a Parliament; for how foul ſoever the error be, it cannot have been declar'd Hereſie, neither in the Scriptures, nor in the Councils, becauſe it was never before heard of, and conſequently there can be no error (unleſs it fall within the compaſs of Blaſphemy againſt God, or Treaſon againſt the King) for which a man can in Equity be puniſhed. Beſides, who can tell what is declared by the Scripture, which every man is allowed to read and interpret to himſelf? Nay more, what Proteſtant, either of the Laity

or Clergy, (if every General Council can be a competent Judge of Hereſie) is not already condemned? for divers Councils have declared a great many of our Doctrines to be Hereſie, and that (as they pretend) upon the Authority of the Scriptures.

A. What are thoſe Points that the firſt four General Councils have declared Hereſie?

B. The firſt General Council held at *Nicæa* declared all to be Hereſie, which was contrary to the Nicene Creed, upon occaſion of the Hereſie of *Arrius*, which was the denying the Divinity of Chriſt. The ſecond General Council held at *Conſtantinople* declared Hereſie the Doctrine of *Macedonius*; which was, that the Holy Ghoſt was created. The third Council aſſembled at *Epheſus* condemned the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*, that there were two Perſons in Chriſt. The fourth held at *Chalcedon*, condemned the error of *Eutyches*, that there was but one Nature in Chriſt. I know of no other Points condemned in theſe four Councils, but ſuch as concern Church-Government, or the ſame Doctrines taught by other Men in other words: and theſe Councils were all called by the Emperors, and by them their Decrees confirmed, at the Petition of the Councils themſelves.

A. I ſee by this, that both the calling of the Council, and the Confirmation of their Doctrine and Church-Government had no obligatory force, but from the Authority of the Emperor. How comes it then to paſs, that they take upon them now a Legiſlative Power, and ſay their Canons are Laws? That Text, *All Power is given to me in Heaven and Earth,* had the ſame force then as it hath now, and conferred a Legiſlative Power on the Councils, not only over Chriſtian Men, but over all Nations in the World,

B. They ſay no; for the Power they pretend to is derived from this, that when a King was converted from Gentiliſme to Chriſtianity, he did by that very ſubmiſſion to the Biſhop that converted him, ſubmit to the Biſhops Government, and became one of his Sheep; which Right therefore he could not have over any Nation that was not Chriſtian.

A. Did *Sylveſter* (which was Pope of *Rome* in the time of *Conſtantine* the great converted by him) tell the Emperor his new Diſciple before-hand, that if he became a Chriſtian he muſt be the Popes Subject?

B. I believe not; for it is likely enough, if he had told him ſo plainly, or but made him ſuſpect it, he would either have been

no Christian at all, or but a counterfeit one.

A. But, if he did not tell him so, and that plainly, it was foul play, not only in a Priest, but in any Christian; and for this derivation of their Right from the Emperors consent, it proceeds only from this, that they dare not challenge a Legislative Power, nor call their Canons Laws in any Kingdom in Christendome, farther than the Kings make them so. But in *Peru*, when *Atabalipa* was King, the Frier told him, that Christ being King of all the World, had given the disposing of all the Kingdoms therein to the Pope, and that the Pope had given *Peru* to the *Roman* Emperor *Charles* the *5th*, and requir'd *Atabalipa* to resign it; and for refusing it, seized upon his person by the *Spanish* Army there present, and murdered him; you see by this how much they claim, when they have power to make it good.

B. When began the Popes to take this Authority upon them first?

A. After the Inundation of Northern People had overflowed the Western parts of the Empire, and possessed themselves of *Italy*, the People of the City of *Rome* submitted themselves, as well in Temporals as Spirituals to their Bishop; and then first was the Pope a Temporal Prince, and stood

no

no more in ſo great fear of the Emperors which lived far off at *Conſtantinople*. In this time it was that the Pope began, by pretence of his Power Spiritual, to encroach upon the Temporal Rights of all other Princes of the Weſt, and ſo continued gaining upon them, till his Power was at the higheſt in that 300 years or thereabout, which paſſed between the 8*th* and 11*th* Century, that is, between the time of Pope *Leo* the third, and Pope *Innocent* the third. For in this time Pope *Zachary* the firſt depoſed *Chilperic* then King of *France*, and gave the Kingdom to one of his Subjects, *Pepin*, and *Pepin* took from the *Lombards* a great part of their Territory, and gave it to the Church. Shortly after, the *Lombards* having recover'd their Eſtate, *Charles* the Great retook it, and gave it to the Church again, and Pope *Leo* the third made *Charles* Emperor.

B. But what Right did the Pope then pretend for the creating of an Emperor?

A. He pretended the Right of being Chriſt's Vicar, and what Chriſt could give, his Vicar might give; and you know that Chriſt was King of all the World.

B. Yes, as God; and ſo he gives all the Kingdoms of the World, which nevertheleſs proceed from the conſent of People, either for fear or hope.

A. But this Gift of the Empire was in a more ſpecial manner, in ſuch a manner as *Moſes* had the Government of *Iſrael* given him, or rather as *Joſhuah* had it given him, to go in and out before the People, as the High-Prieſt ſhould direct him; and ſo the Empire was underſtood to be given him, on condition to be directed by the Pope; for when the Pope inveſted him with the Regal Ornaments, the People all cried out, *Deus dat*, that is to ſay, 'tis God that gives it; and the Emperor was contented ſo to take it. And from that time all, or moſt of the Chriſtian Kings, do put into their Titles the words *Dei gratia*, that is, by the Gift of God, and their Succeſſors uſe ſtill to receive the Crown and Scepter from a Biſhop.

B. 'Tis certainly a very good Cuſtom for Kings to be put in mind, by whoſe Gift they Reign; but it cannot from that Cuſtom be inferr'd, that they receive the Kingdom by mediation of the Pope, or by any other Clergy: for the Popes themſelves receiv'd the Papacy from the Emperor. The firſt that ever was elected Biſhop of *Rome* after Emperors were Chriſtians, and without the Emperors conſent, excuſed himſelf by Letters to the Emperor with this; That the People and Clergy of *Rome* forced him to take it upon him, and prayed the Empe-

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ror to confirm it; which the Emperor did; but with reprehenſion of their proceedings, and prohibition of the like for the time to come: The Emperor was *Lotharius*, and the Pope *Calixtus* the firſt.

A. You ſee by this the Emperor never acknowledged this Gift of God was the Gift of the Pope, but maintained, the Popedom was the Gift of the Emperor, but in proceſs of time, by the negligence of the Emperors, (for the greatneſs of Kings makes them that they cannot eaſily deſcend into the obſcure and narrow Mines of an ambitious Clergy) they found means to make the People believe, there was a Power in the Pope and Clergy, which they ought to ſubmit unto, rather than to the Commands of their own Kings, whenſoever it ſhould come into controverſie. And to that end deviſed and decreed many new Articles of Faith, to the diminution of the Authority of Kings, and to the diſjunction of them and their Subjects, and to a cloſer adherence of their Subjects to the Church of *Rome*. Articles either not at all found in, or not well founded upon the Scriptures. As firſt; that it ſhould not be lawful for a Prieſt to marry.

B. What influence could that have upon the Power of Kings?

A. Do you not ſee, that by this the King muſt of neceſſity either want the Prieſthood,

and therewith a great part of the Reverence due to him from the moſt religious part of his Subjects, or elſe want lawful Heirs to ſucceed him: by which means, being not taken for the Head of the Church, he was ſure in any Controverſie between him and the Pope, that his Subjects would be againſt him.

B. Is not a Chriſtian King as much a Biſhop now, as the Heathen Kings were of old; for among them *Epiſcopus* was a Name common to all Kings? Is not he a Biſhop now, to whom God hath committed the charge of all the Souls of his Subjects, both of the Laity and the Clergy? And though he be in relation to our Saviour, who is the chief Paſtor, but a Sheep, yet compared to his own Subjects, they are all Sheep, both Laique and Clerique, and he only Shepherd. And ſeeing a Chriſtian Biſhop is but a Chriſtian endued with power to govern the Clergy, it follows, that every Chriſtian King is not only a Biſhop, but an Arch-biſhop, and his whole Dominion his Dioceſs. And though it were granted, that Impoſition of Hands is neceſſary from a Prieſt, yet ſeeing Kings have the Government of the Clergy, that are his Subjects, even before Baptiſm; the Baptiſm it ſelf wherein he is receiv'd as a Chriſtian, is a ſufficient Impoſition of Hands, ſo that whereas before he was a Biſhop, now he is a Chriſtian Biſhop. *A.* For

A. For my part I agree with you: This Prohibition of Marriage to Prieſts came in about the time of Pope *Gregory* the *7th*, and *William* the firſt King of *England*; by which means the Pope had in *England*, what with Secular, and what with Regular Prieſts, a great many luſty Batchelors at his ſervice. Secondly, That Auricular Confeſſion to a Prieſt was neceſſary to Salvation. 'Tis true, that before that time, Confeſſion to a Prieſt was uſual, and performed for the moſt part (by him that confeſſed) in writing, but that uſe was taken away about the time of King *Edward* the third, and Prieſts commanded to take Confeſſions from the Mouth of the Confitent: and Men did generally believe, that without Confeſſion and Abſolution before their departure out of the World, they could not be ſaved; and having Abſolution from a Prieſt, that they could not be damn'd. You underſtand by this, how much every Man would ſtand in awe of the Pope and Clergy, more than they would of the King; and what Inconvenience it is to a State for their Subjects to confeſs their ſecret Thoughts to Spies.

B. Yes, as much as Eternal Torture is more terrible than Death; ſo much they would fear the Clergy more than the King.

A. And though perhaps the *Roman* Clergy will not maintain, that a Prieſt hath

power to remit ſins abſolutely, but only with a condition of repentance, yet the People were never ſo inſtructed by them; but were left to believe, that whenſoever they had Abſolution, their precedent ſins were all diſcharged, when their Penance, which they took for Repentance, was perform'd. Within the ſame time began the Article of Tranſubſtantiation; for it had been diſputed a long time before in what manner a Man did eat the Body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as being a Point very difficult for a Man to conceive and imagine clearly; but now it was made very clear, that the Bread was tranſubſtantiated into Chriſts Body, and ſo was become no more Bread but Fleſh.

B. It ſeems then that Chriſt had many Bodies, and was in as many places at once, as there were Communicants. I think the Prieſts then were ſo wanton, as to inſult upon the dulneſs, not only of Common People, but alſo of Kings and their Councellors.

A. I am now in a Narration, not in a Diſputation, and therefore I would have you at this time to conſider nothing elſe, but what effect this Doctrine would work upon Kings and their Subjects, in relation to the Clergy, who only were able of a piece of Bread to make our Saviour's Body,

and

and thereby at the hour of death to ſave their Souls.

B. For my part, it would have an effect on me to make me think them Gods, and to ſtand in awe of them, as of God himſelf, if he were viſibly preſent.

A. Beſides theſe and other Articles tending to the upholding of the Popes Authority, they had many fine Points in their Eccleſiaſtical Politie, conducing to the ſame end; of which I will mention only ſuch as were eſtabliſhed within the ſame time. For then it was the Order came up of Preaching Friars, that wandred up and down with power to preach in what Congregation they pleaſed, and were ſure enough to inſtil into the People nothing that might leſſen the Obedience to the Church of *Rome*; but on the contrary, whatſoever might give advantage to it againſt the Civil Power. Beſides, they privately inſinuated themſelves with Women and Men of weak Judgment, confirming their adherence to the Pope, and urging them in the time of their ſickneſs, to be beneficial to it by contribution of Money, or building Religious Houſes, or Pious Works, and neceſſary for the remiſſion of their ſins.

B. I do not remember that I have read of any Kingdom or State in the World, where liberty was given to any private Man to call the People together, and make Orations fre-

frequently to them, or at all, without first making the State acquainted, except only in Christendome. I believe the Heathen Kings foresaw, that a few such Orators would be able to make a great Sedition. *Moses* did indeed command to read the Scriptures, and expound them in the Synagogues every Sabbath-day; but the Scriptures then were nothing else but the Laws of the Nation delivered unto them by *Moses* himself; and I believe it would do no hurt, if the Laws of *England* also were often read and expounded in the several Congregations of *Englishmen*, at times appointed, that they may know what to do; for they know already what to believe.

A. I think that neither the preaching of Friers nor Monks, nor of Parochial Priests, tended to teach Men what, but whom to believe: for the Power of the Mighty hath no foundation, but in the opinion and belief of the People; and the end which the Pope had in multiplying Sermons, was no other, but to prop and enlarge his own Authority over all Christian Kings and States.

Within the same time, that is, between the time of the Emperor *Charles* the Great, and of King *Edward* the third of *England*, began their second Politie, which was to bring Religion into an Art, and thereby to maintain all the Decrees of the *Roman* Church

Church by diſputation; not only from the Scriptures, but alſo from the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, both Moral and Natural; and to that end the Pope exhorted the ſaid Emperor by Letter to erect Schools of all kinds of Literature, and from thence began the Inſtitution of Univerſities; for not long after the Univerſities began in *Paris* and in *Oxford*. It is true, that there were Schools in *England* before that time, in ſeveral places, for the inſtruction of Children in the Latin Tongue, that is to ſay, in the Tongue of the Church; but for an Univerſity of Learning, there was none erected till that time; though it be not unlikely there might be then ſome that taught Philoſophy, Logick, and other Arts in divers Monaſteries, the Monks having little elſe to do, but to ſtudy. After ſome Colledges were built to that purpoſe, it was not long time before many more were added to them, by the devotion of Princes and Biſhops, and other wealthy Men: and the Diſcipline therein was confirmed by the Popes that then were, and abundance of Scholars ſent thither by their Friends to ſtudy, as to a place, from whence the way was open and eaſie to Preferment both in Church and Commonwealth. The profit the Church of *Rome* expected from them, and in effect receiv'd, was the maintenance of the Popes Doctrine,

and

and of his Authority over Kings, and their Subjects, by School-Divines, who ſtriving to make good many Points of Faith incomprehenſible, and calling in the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle* to their aſſiſtance, wrote great Books of School-Divinity, which no man elſe, nor they themſelves were able to underſtand; as any man may perceive that ſhall conſider the Writings of *Peter Lombard*, or *Scotus*, or of him that wrote Commentaries upon him, or of *Suarez*, or any other School-Divine of later times; which kind of Learning nevertheleſs hath been much admir'd by two ſorts of Men, otherwiſe prudent enough; the one of which ſorts were of thoſe that were already devoted, and really affectionate to the *Roman* Church: for they believed the Doctrine before, but admir'd the Arguments becauſe they underſtood them not, and yet found the Concluſions to their mind. The other ſort were negligent Men, that had rather admire with others, than take the pains to examine. So that all ſorts of People were fully reſolv'd, that both the Doctrine was true, and the Pope's Authority, no more than what was due to him.

B. I ſee that a Chriſtian King, or State, how well ſoever provided he be of Money and Arms, (where the Church of *Rome* hath ſuch Authority) will have but a hard match

match of it, for want of Men: for their Subjects will hardly be drawn into the Field, and fight with courage againſt their Conſciences.

A. It is true, that great Rebellions have been raiſed by Church-men in the Popes quarrel againſt Kings, as in *England* againſt King *John*, and in *France* againſt King *Henry* the *4th*, wherein the Kings had a more conſiderable part on their ſides, than the Pope had on his, and ſhall always have ſo, if they have Money; for there are but few whoſe Conſciences are ſo tender as to refuſe Money when they want it: But the great miſchief done to Kings upon pretence of Religion is, when the Pope gives power to one King to invade another.

B. I wonder how King *Henry* the *8th* could then ſo utterly extinguiſh the Authority of the Pope in *England*, and that without any Rebellion at home, or any Invaſion from abroad.

A. Firſt, the Prieſts, Monks and Friars being in the heighth of their power, were now for the moſt part grown inſolent and licentious, and thereby the force of their Arguments was now taken away by the ſcandal of their Lives, which the Gentry and Men of good Education eaſily perceived; and the Parliament conſiſting of ſuch perſons, were therefore willing to take away

their

their Power; and generally the Common People, which from a long Custom had been in love with Parliaments, were not displeased therewith. Secondly, the Doctrine of *Luther* beginning a little before, was now by a great many men of the greatest Judgments so well received, as that there was no hope to restore the Pope to his Power by Rebellion. Thirdly, the Revenue of Abbies, and all other Religious Houses falling hereby into the Kings Hands, and by him being disposed of to the most Eminent Gentlemen in every County, could not but make them do their best to confirm themselves in the possession of them. Fourthly, King *Henry* was of a Nature quick and severe in the punishing of such as should be the first to oppose his Designs. Lastly, (as to Invasion from abroad) in case the Pope had given the Kingdom to another Prince, it had been in vain; for *England* is another manner of Kingdom than *Navarre*. Besides, the *French* and *Spanish* Forces were employed at that time one against another: and though they had been at leisure, they would have found perhaps no better success, than the *Spaniards* found afterwards in 1588. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the Insolence, Avarice and Hypocrisie of the then Clergy, and notwithstanding the Doctrine of *Luther*, if the Pope had not provoked the King

King by endeavouring to croſs his Marriage with his ſecond Wife, his Authority might have remained in *England*, till there had riſen ſome other quarrel.

B. Did not the Biſhops that then were, and had taken an Oath, wherein was, amongſt other things, that they ſhould defend and maintain the Regal Rights of St. *Peter*; the words are, *Regalia Sancti Petri*, which nevertheleſs ſome have ſaid are *Regulas Sancti Petri*, that is to ſay, St. *Peter*'s Rules or Doctrine; and that the Clergy afterward did read it (being perhaps written in Short-hand) by a miſtake to the Pope's advantage *Regalia*: Did not I ſay the Biſhops oppoſe that Act of Parliament againſt the Pope, and againſt the taking of the Oath of Supremacy?

A. No, I do not find the Biſhops did many of them oppoſe the King; for having no power without him, it had been great imprudence to provoke his anger. There was beſides a Controverſie in thoſe times between the Pope and the Biſhops, moſt of which did maintain, that they exerciſed their Juriſdiction Epiſcopal in the Right of God, as immediately as the Pope himſelf did exerciſe the ſame over the whole Church. And becauſe they ſaw that by this Act of the King in Parliament they were to hold their Power no more of the Pope, and never thought

thought of holding it of the King, they were perhaps better content to let that Act of Parliament pass. In the Reign of King *Edward* the *6th* the Doctrine of *Luther* had taken so great root in *England*, that they threw out also a great many of the Popes new Articles of Faith; which Queen *Mary* succeeding him restored again, together with all that had been abolished by *Henry* the *8th*, saving (that which could not be restored) the Religious Houses; and the Bishops and Clergy of King *Edward* were partly burnt for Heretícks, partly fled, and partly recanted: and they that fled betook themselves to those places beyond Sea, where the Reformed Religion was either protected, or not persecuted; who after the decease of Queen *Mary* returned again to favour and preferment under Queen *Elizabeth*, that restored the Religion of her Brother King *Edward*: And so it hath continued till this day, excepting the Interruption made in this late Rebellion of the Presbyterians and other Democratical Men. But though the *Romish* Religion were now cast out by the Law, yet there were abundance of people, and many of them of the Nobility, that still retained the Religion of their Ancestors, who as they were not much molested in Points of Conscience, so they were not by their own Inclination very troublesome to

the

the Civil Government; but by the ſecret practice of the Jeſuites and other Emiſſaries of the *Roman* Church, they were made leſs quiet, than they ought to have been; and ſome of them to venture upon the moſt horrid Act that ever had been heard of before: I mean the Gunpowder-Treaſon. And upon that account, the Papiſts of *England* have been looked upon as Men that would not be ſorry for any diſorders here, that might poſſibly make way to the reſtoring of the Popes Authority; and therefore I named them for one of the diſtempers of the State of *England*, in the time of our late King *Charles*.

B. I ſee that *Monſieur du Pleſſis*, and Dr. *Morton*, Biſhop of *Durham*, writing of the progreſs of the Popes Power, and intituling their Books, one of them, *The Myſtery of Iniquity*, the other, *The Grand Impoſture*, were both in the right: for I believe there was never ſuch another cheat in the World; and I wonder that the Kings and States of Chriſtendome never perceiv'd it.

A. It is manifeſt they did perceive it. How elſe durſt they make War againſt the Pope, and ſome of them take him out of *Rome* it ſelf, and carry him away Priſoner? But if they would have freed themſelves from his Tyranny, they ſhould have agreed together, and made themſelves every one

(as *Henry* the 8*th* did) Head of the Church within their own reſpective Dominions; but not agreeing, they let his power continue, every one hoping to make uſe of it (when there ſhould be cauſe) againſt his Neighbour.

B. Now, as to that other diſtemper by Presbyterians, how came their power to be ſo great, being of themſelves, for the moſt part, but ſo many poor Scholars?

A. This Controverſie between the Papiſt and the Reformed Churches, could not chooſe but make every man, to the beſt of his power, examine by the Scriptures which of them was in the right; and to that end they were tranſlated into Vulgar Tongues, whereas before the Tranſlation of them was not allowed, nor any Man to read them, but ſuch as had expreſs licence ſo to do: for the Pope did concerning the Scriptures the ſame that *Moſes* did concerning Mount *Sinai*: *Moſes* ſuffered no man to go up to it to hear God ſpeak, or gaze upon him, but ſuch as he himſelf took with him; and the Pope ſuffered none to ſpeak with God in the Scriptures, that had not ſome part of the Pope's Spirit in him, for which he might be truſted.

B. Certainly *Moſes* did therein very wiſely, and according to God's own Commandment.

A. No

A. No doubt of it, and the event it ſelf hath made it ſince appear ſo: for after the Bible was tranſlated into *Engliſh*, every Man, nay every Boy and Wench, that could read *Engliſh*, thought they ſpoke with God Almighty, and underſtood what he ſaid, when by a certain number of Chapters a day, they had read the Scriptures once or twice over, the Reverence and Obedience due to the Reformed Church here, and to the Biſhops and Paſtors therein, was caſt off, and every Man became a Judge of Religion, and an Interpreter of the Scriptures to himſelf.

B. Did not the Church of *England* intend it ſhould be ſo? What other end could they have in recommending the Bible to me, if they did not mean I ſhould make it the Rule of my Actions? Elſe they might have kept it, though open to themſelves, to me ſeal'd up in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, and fed me out of it in ſuch meaſure as had been requiſite for the ſalvation of my Soul, and the Churches Peace.

A. I confeſs this Licence of Interpreting the Scripture was the cauſe of ſo many ſeveral Sects as have lain hid, 'till the beginning of the late Kings Reign, and did then appear to the diſturbance of the Commonwealth. But to return to the Story; thoſe perſons that fled for Religion in the time of

Queen *Mary*, reſided, for the moſt part, in places where the Reformed Religion was profeſs'd, and governed by an Aſſembly of Miniſters, who alſo were not a little made uſe of (for want of better Stateſ-men) in Points of Civil Government, which pleaſed ſo much the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Proteſtants that lived amongſt them, that at their return they wiſhed there were the ſame Honour and Reverence given to the Miniſtry in their own Countries; in *Scotland*, (King *James* being then young) ſoon (with the help of ſome of the powerful Nobility) they brought it to paſs. Alſo they that returned into *England*, in the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, endeavoured the ſame here; but could never effect it, till this laſt Rebellion, nor without the help of the *Scots*: and it was no ſooner effected, but they were defeated again by the other Sects, which, by the preaching of the Presbyterians, and private Interpretation of Scripture, were grown numerous.

B. I know indeed, that in the beginning of the late War, the Power of the Presbyterians was ſo very great, that, not only the Citizens of *London* were, almoſt all of them, at their devotion, but alſo the greateſt part of all other Cities and Market-Towns of *England*. But you have not yet told me by what Art and what Degrees they became ſo ſtrong.

A. It

A. It was not their own Art alone that did it, but they had the concurrence of a great many Gentlemen that did no leſs deſire a Popular Government in the Civil State, than theſe Miniſters did in the Church: and as theſe did in the Pulpit draw the People to their Opinions, and to a diſlike of the Church-Government, Canons, and Common-Prayer-Book, ſo did the other make them in love with Democracy by their Harangues in the Parliament, and by their Diſcourſes and Communication with People in the Country, continually extolling of Liberty, and inveighing againſt Tyranny, leaving the People to collect of themſelves, that this Tyranny was the preſent Government of the State; and as the Preſbyterians brought with them into their Churches their Divinity from the Univerſities, ſo did many of the Gentlemen bring their Politicks from thence into the Parliament, but neither of them did this very boldly in the time of Queen *Elizabeth.* And though it be not likely that all of them did it out of malice, but many of them out of error; yet certainly the Chief Leaders were ambitious Miniſters and ambitious Gentlemen; the Miniſters envying the Authority of Biſhops, whom they thought leſs learned; and the Gentlemen envying the Privy-Council, whom they thought leſs

wiſe than themſelves. For 'tis a hard matter for Men who do all think highly of their own Wits (when they have alſo acquired the Learning of the Univerſity) to be perſwaded, that they want any ability requiſite for the Government of a Commonwealth, eſpecially having read the glorious Hiſtories, and the ſententious Politiques of the ancient popular Governments of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, amongſt whom Kings were hated, and branded with the name of Tyrants, and Popular Government (though no Tyrant was ever ſo cruel as a Popular Aſſembly) paſſed by the Name of Liberty. The Presbyterian Miniſters, in the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, did not (becauſe they durſt not) publickly preach againſt the Diſcipline of the Church; but not long after (by the favour perhaps of ſome great Courtier) they went abroad preaching into moſt of the Market-Towns of *England*, as the preaching Friars had formerly done, upon working-days in the Morning: in which Sermons theſe, and others of the ſame Tenets, that had charge of Souls, both by the manner and matter of their preaching, applyed themſelves wholly to the winning of the People to a liking of their Doctrines, and good opinion of their perſons.

And

And first for the manner of their preaching, they so framed their countenance and gesture at the entrance into the Pulpit, and their pronuntiation, both in their Prayer and Sermon, and used the Scripture phrase, whether understood by the People or not, as that no Tragœdian in the World could have acted the part of a right godly Man better than these did; in so much as a Man unacquainted with such Art, could never suspect any ambitious plot in them, to raise Sedition against the State, (as they then had design'd) or doubt that the vehemence of their Voice, (for the same words with the usual pronuntiation had been of little force) and forcedness of their Gesture and Looks, could arise from any thing else, but zeal to the Service of God. And by this Art they came into such credit, that numbers of Men used to go forth of their own Parishes and Towns, on working-days, leaving their Calling, and on *Sundays*, leaving their own Churches to hear them preach in other places, and to despise their own, and all other Preachers that acted not so well as they: and as for those Ministers that did not usually preach, but in stead of Sermons did read to the People such Homilies as the Church had appointed, they esteemed and called them Dumb Dogs.

Secondly, For the matter of their Sermons, becauſe the anger of the People in the late *Roman* Uſurpation, was then freſh, they ſaw there could be nothing more gratious with them, than to preach againſt ſuch other Points of the *Romiſh* Religion, as the Biſhops had not yet condemned; that ſo receding farther from Popery than they did, they might with glory to themſelves leave a ſuſpicion on the Biſhops, as Men not yet well purged from Idolatry.

Thirdly, Before their Sermons, their Prayer was, or ſeem'd to be *extempore*, which they pretended to be dictated by the Spirit of God within them, and many of the People believed, or ſeemed to believe it: for any man might ſee, that had judgment, that they did not take care beforehand what they ſhould ſay in their Prayers. And from hence came a diſlike of the Common-Prayer-Book, which is a ſet form premeditated, that Men might ſee to what they were to ſay *Amen*.

Fourthly, They did never in their Sermons, or but lightly inveigh againſt the Lucrative vices of Men of Trade or Handicraft; ſuch as are Feigning, Lying, Cozening, Hypocriſie, or other uncharitableneſs, except want of Charity to their Paſtors and to the Faithful; which was a great eaſe to the generality of Citizens, and the Inhabi-

tants

tants of Market Towns, and no little profit to themſelves.

Fifthly, By preaching up an Opinion, that Men were to be aſſured of their Salvation by the Teſtimony of their own private Spirit, meaning the Holy Ghoſt dwelling within them. And from this Opinion the People that found in themſelves a ſufficient hatred towards the Papiſts, and an ability to repeat the Sermons of theſe Men at their coming home, made no doubt but that they had all that was neceſſary, how fraudulently and ſpightfully ſoever they behaved themſelves to their Neighbours that were not reckoned amongſt the Saints, and ſometimes to thoſe alſo.

Sixthly, They did indeed with great earneſtneſs and ſeverity inveigh often againſt two ſins, Carnal Luſts, and Vain Swearing, which without queſtion was very well done: but the common People were thereby inclin'd to believe, that nothing elſe was ſin, but that which was forbidden in the Third and Seventh Commandment: for few Men do underſtand by the name of Luſt any other concupiſcence, than that which is forbidden in that Seventh Commandment; for Men are not ordinarily ſaid to luſt after another Man's Cattle, or other Goods, or Poſſeſſions, and therefore never made much ſcruple of the Acts of fraud and malice,

but

but endeavoured to keep themſelves from uncleanneſs only, or at leaſt from the ſcandal of it. And whereas they did, both in their Sermons and Writings, maintain and inculcate, that the very firſt motions of the mind, that is to ſay, the delight Men and Women took in the ſight of one another's Form, though they checked the proceeding thereof, ſo that it never grew up to be a deſign, was nevertheleſs a ſin, they brought young men into deſperation, and to think themſelves damn'd, becauſe they could not (which no Man can, and is contrary to the conſtitution of Nature) behold a delightful Object without delight: and by this means they became Confeſſors to ſuch as were thus troubled in Conſcience, and were obeyed by them as their Spiritual Doctors in all Caſes of Conſcience.

B. Yes, divers of them did preach frequently againſt oppreſſion.

A. 'Tis true, I had forgot that: but it was before ſuch as were free enough from it, I mean the common People, who would eaſily believe themſelves oppreſſed, but never Oppreſſors. And therefore you may reckon this amongſt their Artifices to make the People believe they were oppreſſed by the King, or perhaps by the Biſhops, or both; and incline the meaner ſort to their Party afterward, when there ſhould be occaſion.

ſion. But this was but ſparingly done in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe fear and jealouſie they were afraid of. Nor had they as yet any great power in the Parliament Houſe, whereby to call in queſtion her Prerogative by Petitions of Right, and other Devices, as they did afterwards, when Democratical Gentlemen had receiv'd them into their Councels, for the deſign of changing the Government from Monarchical to Popular, which they called Liberty.

B. Who would think that ſuch horrible deſigns as theſe could ſo eaſily and ſo long remain covered with the Cloak of Godlineſs: for that they were moſt impious Hypocrites is manifeſt enough by the War theſe proceedings ended in, and by the impious Acts in that War committed. But when began firſt to appear in Parliament the Attempt of Popular Government, and by whom?

A. As to the time of attempting the change of Government from Monarchical to Democratical, we muſt diſtinguiſh. They did not challenge the Sovereignty in plain terms, and by that Name, till they had ſlain the King, nor the Rights thereof altogether by particular Heads, till the King was driven from *London* by Tumults, raiſed in that City againſt him, and retir'd for the ſecurity of his Perſon to *York*, where he had

had not been many days, when they ſent unto him 19 Propoſitions, whereof above a dozen were Demands of ſeveral Powers, eſſential parts of the Power Sovereign. But before that time they had demanded ſome of them (in a Petition which they called a Petition of Right) which nevertheleſs the King had granted them in a former Parliament, though he deprived himſelf thereby, not only of the Power to levy Money without their conſent, but alſo of his ordinary Revenue by Cuſtom of Tonnage and Poundage, and of the Liberty to put into Cuſtody ſuch Men as he thought likely to diſturb the Peace, and raiſe Sedition in the Kingdom. As for the Men that did this, 'tis enough to ſay they were the Members of the laſt Parliament, and of ſome other Parliaments in the beginning of King *Charles*, and the end of King *James* his Reign; to name them all is not neceſſary, farther than the Story ſhall require. Moſt of them were Members of the Houſe of Commons; ſome few alſo of the Lords; but all ſuch as had a great opinion of their ſufficiency in Politicks, which they thought was not ſufficiently taken notice of by the King.

B. How could the Parliament when the King had a great Navy, and a great number of Train'd Soldiers, and all the Magazines

of

of Ammunition in his power, be able to begin the War?

A. The King had theſe things indeed in his right, but that ſignifies little; when they that had the Cuſtody of the Navy and Magazines, and with them all the Train'd Soldiers, and in a manner all his Subjects, were by the preaching of Presbyterian Miniſters, and the ſeditious whiſperings of falſe and ignorant Politicians, made his Enemies: And when the King could have no Money but what the Parliament ſhould give him, which you may be ſure ſhould not be enough to maintain his Regal Power, which they intended to take from him.

And yet I think they would never have adventured into the Field, but for that unlucky buſineſs of impoſing upon the *Scots* (who were all Presbyterians) our Book of Common-Prayer; for I believe the *Engliſh* would never have taken well that the Parliament ſhould make War upon the King upon any provocation, unleſs it were in their own defence, in caſe the King ſhould firſt make War upon them; and therefore it behooved them to provoke the King, that he might do ſomething that might look like Hoſtility. It happened in the Year 1637. that the King by the Advice, as it is thought, of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſent down a Book of

of Common-Prayer into *Scotland*, not differing in ſubſtance from ours, nor much in words, beſides the putting of the word Presbyter for that of Miniſter, commanding it to be uſed (for conformity to this Kingdom) by the Miniſters there, for an ordinary Form of Divine Service: This being read in the Church at *Edenburgh*, cauſed ſuch a Tumult there, that he that read it had much ado to eſcape with his life, and gave occaſion to the greateſt part of the Nobility and others to enter by their own Authority, into a Covenant amongſt themſelves, which impudently they called a Covenant with God, to put down Epiſcopacy, without conſulting with the King; which they preſently did, animated thereto by their own confidence, or by aſſurance from ſome of the Democratical *Engliſh*-men, that in former Parliaments had been the greateſt oppoſers of the King's Intereſt, that the King would not be able to raiſe an Army to chaſtiſe them without calling a Parliament, which would be ſure to favour them: For the thing which thoſe Domocraticals chiefly then aimed at, was to force the King to call a Parliament, which he had not done of ten years before, as having found no help, but hinderance to his Deſigns in the Parliaments he had formerly called. Howſoever contrary to their expectation, by

by the help of his better affected Subjects of the Nobility and Gentry, he made a ſhift to raiſe a ſufficient Army to have reduced the *Scots* to their former obedience, if it had proceeded to battle: and with this Army he marched himſelf into *Scotland*, where the *Scotch* Army was alſo brought into the Field againſt him, as if they meant to fight: but then the *Scoth* ſent to the King for leave to treat by Commiſſioners on both ſides; and the King willing to avoid the deſtruction of his own Subjects, condeſcended to it. The Iſſue was peace, and the King thereupon went to *Edenburgh*, and paſſed an Act of Parliament there to their ſatisfaction.

B. Did he not then confirm Epiſcopacy?

A. No, but yielded to the aboliſhing of it: but by this means the *Engliſh* were croſs'd in their hope of a Parliament, but the ſaid Democraticals, formerly oppoſers of the King's Intereſt, ceaſed not to endeavour ſtill to put the two Nations into a War; to the end the King might buy the Parliaments help at no leſs a price than Sovereignty it ſelf.

B. But what was the cauſe that the Gentry and Nobility of *Scotland* were ſo averſe from the Epiſcopacy? for I can hardly believe that their Conſciences were extraordinarily tender, nor that they were ſo very great

great Divines, as to know what was the true Church-diſcipline eſtabliſhed by our Saviour and his Apoſtles; nor yet ſo much in love with their Miniſters as to be over-rul'd by them in the Government either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil; for in their lives they were juſt as other Men are, purſuers of their own Intereſts and Preferments, wherein they were not more oppoſed by the Biſhops than by their Presbyterian Miniſters.

A. Truly I do not know; I cannot enter into other Mens thoughts farther than I am led by the conſideration of Humane Nature in general: But upon this conſideration I ſee firſt, that Men of ancient Wealth and Nobility are not apt to brook, that poor Scholars ſhould (as they muſt when they are made Biſhops) be their fellows. Secondly, That from the Emulation of Glory between the Nations they might be willing to ſee this Nation afflicted by Civil War, and might hope by aiding the Rebels here, to acquire ſome power over the *Engliſh*, at leaſt ſo far as to eſtabliſh here the Presbyterian Diſcipline; which was alſo one of the Points they afterwards openly demanded. Laſtly, They might hope for, in the War, ſome great Sum of Money, as a reward of their aſſiſtance, beſides great booty, which they afterwards obtained. But whatſoever

was

was the cauſe of their hatred to Biſhops, the pulling of them down was not all they aimed at: If it had, (now that Epiſcopacy was aboliſhed by Act of Parliament) they would have reſted ſatisfied, which they did not: for after the King was returned to *London*, the *Engliſh* Presbyterians and Democraticals, by whoſe favour they had put down Biſhops in *Scotland*, thought it reaſon to have the aſſiſtance of the *Scotch*, for the pulling down of Biſhops in *England*. And in order thereunto, they might perhaps deal with the *Scots* ſecretly, to reſt unſatisfied with that Pacification, which they were before contented with. Howſoever it was, not long after the King was returned to *London*, they ſent up to ſome of their Friends at Court a certain Paper containing (as they pretended) the Articles of the ſaid Pacification, a falſe and ſcandalous Paper, which was by the King's Command burnt (as I have heard) publickly; and ſo both parts returned to the ſame condition they were in, when the King went down with his Army.

B. And ſo there was a great deal of Money caſt away to no purpoſe: But you have not told me who was General of that Army.

A. I told you the King was there in Perſon; He that commanded under him was

the Earl of *Arundel*, a Man that wanted not either Valour or Judgment. But to proceed to Battle, or to Treaty, was not in his power, but in the King's.

B. He was a Man of a moſt Noble and Loyal Family, and whoſe Anceſtors had formerly given a great overthrow to the *Scots*, in their own Country, and in all likelihood he might have given them the like now, if they had fought.

A. He might indeed: but it had been but a kind of ſuperſtition to have made him General upon that account, though many Generals heretofore have been choſen for the good luck of their Anceſtors in like occaſions. In the long War between *Athens* and *Sparta*, a General of the *Athenians* by Sea won many Victories againſt the *Spartans*; for which cauſe, after his death, they choſe his Son for General with ill ſucceſs. The *Romans* that conquered *Carthage* by the Valour and Conduct of *Scipio*, when they were to make War again in *Africk* againſt *Cæſar*, choſe another *Scipio* for General, a Man valiant and wiſe enough, but he periſhed in the Employment. And to come home to our own Nation, the Earl of *Eſſex* made a fortunate Expedition to *Cadiz*, but his Son, ſent afterwards to the ſame place, could do nothing. 'Tis but a fooliſh ſuperſtition to hope that God has

entail'd

entail'd ſucceſs in War upon a Name or Family.

B. After the Pacification broken, what ſucceeded next?

A. The King ſent Duke *Hamilton* with Commiſſion and Inſtructions into *Scotland*, to call a Parliament there, and to uſe all the means he could otherwiſe; but all was to no purpoſe: for the *Scotch* were now reſolv'd to raiſe an Army, and to enter into *England*, to deliver (as they pretended) their Grievances to his Majeſty in a Petition, becauſe the King (they ſaid) being in the hands of evil Councellors, they could not otherwiſe obtain their Right: but the truth is, they were animated to it by the Democratical, and Presbyterian *Engliſh*, with a promiſe of reward, and hope of plunder. Some have ſaid, that Duke *Hamilton* alſo did rather encourage them to, than deter them from the Expedition, as hoping by the diſorder of the two Kingdoms, to bring to paſs that which he had formerly been accus'd to endeavour, to make himſelf King of *Scotland*. But I take this to have been a very uncharitable cenſure upon ſo little ground, to judge ſo hardly of a Man that afterwards loſt his life in ſeeking to procure the Liberty of the King his Maſter.

This reſolution of the *Scots* to enter *England* being known, the King wanting Money to raiſe an Army againſt them, was now (as his Enemies here wiſhed) conſtrained to call a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 13*th* day of *April* 1640.

B. Methinks a Parliament of *England*, if upon any occaſion, ſhould furniſh the King with Money now in a War againſt the *Scots*, out of an inveterate diſſaffection to that Nation that had always anciently taken part with their Enemies the *French*, and which always eſteemed the Glory of *England* for an abatement of their own.

A. 'Tis indeed commonly ſeen, that neighbour Nations envy one anothers Honour, and that the leſs potent bears the greater malice; but that hinders them not from agreeing in thoſe things, which their common ambition leads them to. And therefore the King found not the more, but the leſs help from this Parliament, and moſt of the Members thereof, in their ordinary Diſcourſes, ſeemed to wonder why the King ſhould make a War upon *Scotland:* and in that Parliament ſometimes called them *Their Brethren the* Scots. But in ſtead of taking the Kings buſineſs, which was the raiſing of Money, into their Conſideration, they fell upon the redreſſing of Grievances, and eſpecially ſuch ways of levying Money as in

in the late Intermiſſion of Parliaments the King had been forced to uſe, ſuch as were Ship-Money, for Knighthood, and ſuch other Vails (as one may call them) of the Regal Office, which Lawyers had found juſtifiable by the Ancient Records of the Kingdom. Beſides, they fell upon the Actions of divers Miniſters of State, though done by the King's own Command and Warrant; in ſo much, that before they were to come to the buſineſs for which they were called, the Money which was neceſſary for this War (if they had given any, as they never meant to do) had come too late. It is true, there was mention of a Sum of Money to be given the King, by way of bargain, for the relinquiſhing of his Right to Ship-Money, and ſome other of his Prerogatives, but ſo ſeldom, and without determining any Sum, that it was in vain for the King to hope for any ſucceſs; and therefore upon the *5th* of *May* following he diſſolved it.

B. Where then had the King Money to raiſe and pay his Army?

A. He was forced the ſecond time to make uſe of the Nobility and Gentry, who contributed ſome more, ſome leſs, according to the greatneſs of their Eſtates; but amongſt them all they made up a very ſufficient Army.

B. It ſeems then that the ſame Men that croſſed his buſineſs in the Parliament, now out of Parliament advanced it all they could. What was the reaſon of that?

A. The greateſt part of the Lords in Parliament, and of the Gentry throughout *England*, were more affected to Monarchy than to a Popular Government, but ſo, as not to endure to hear of the King's Abſolute Power, which made them in time of Parliament eaſily to condeſcend to abridge it, and bring the Government to a mixt Monarchy, as they call'd it, wherein the abſolute Sovereignty ſhould be divided between the King, the Houſe of Lords, and the Houſe of Commons.

B. But how if they cannot agree?

A. I think they never thought of that; but I am ſure they never meant the Sovereignty ſhould be wholly, either in one, or both Houſes. Beſides, they were loth to deſert the King, when he was invaded by Forreigners; for the *Scots* were eſteemed by them as a Forreign Nation.

B. It is ſtrange to me, that *England* and *Scotland* being but one Iſland, and their Language almoſt the ſame, and being governed by one King, ſhould be thought Forreigners to one another. The *Romans* were Maſters of many Nations, and to oblige them the more to obey, the Edicts and Laws

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ſent unto them from the City of *Rome*, they thought fit to make them all *Romans*; and out of divers Nations, as *Spain*, *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*, to advance ſome that they thought worthy, even to be Senators of *Rome*, and to give every one of the Common People the Priviledges of the City of *Rome*, by which they were protected from the Contumelies of other Nations, where they reſided. Why were not the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* in like manner united into one People?

A. King *James*, at his firſt coming to the Crown of *England*, did endeavour it, but could not prevail. But for all that, I believe the *Scotch* have now as many Priviledges in *England*, as any Nation had in *Rome*, of thoſe which were ſo as you ſay made *Romans*; for they are all naturaliz'd, and have right to buy Land in *England* to themſelves and their Heirs.

B. It's true of them that were born in *Scotland* after the time that King *James* was in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *England*.

A. There be very few now that were born before. But why have they a better Right that were born after, than they that were born before?

B. Becauſe they were born Subjects to the King of *England*, and the reſt not.

A. Were not the reſt born Subjects to King *James*? And was not he King of *England*?

B. Yes, but not then.

A. I underſtand not the ſubtilty of that diſtinction. But upon what Law is that diſtinction grounded? Is there any Statute to that purpoſe?

B. I cannot tell; I think not: but it is grounded upon Equity.

A. I ſee little Equity in this; that thoſe Nations that are bound to equal obedience to the ſame King, ſhould not have equal priviledges. And now ſeeing there be ſo very few born before King *James*'s coming in; what greater priviledge had thoſe ingrafted *Romans* by their Naturalization in the State of *Rome*, or in the State of *England* the *Engliſh* themſelves, more than the *Scotch*.

B. Thoſe *Romans*, when any of them were in *Rome*, had their Voice in the making of Laws.

A. And the *Scotch* have their Parliaments, wherein their aſſent is requir'd to the Laws there made, which is as good. Have not many of the Provinces of *France* their ſeveral Parliaments and ſeveral Conſtitutions? and yet they are all equally natural Subjects to the King of *France*: and therefore for my part, I think they were miſtaken, both

Engliſh

Engliſh and *Scotch*, in calling one another Forreigners. Howſoever that be, the King had a very ſufficient Army, wherewith he marched towards *Scotland*, and by that time he was come to *York*, the *Scotch* Army was drawn up to the Frontiers, and ready to march into *England*; which alſo they preſently did, giving out all the way, that their March ſhould be without damage to the Countrey, and that their Errand was only to deliver a Petition to the King, for the redreſs of many pretended Injuries they had receiv'd from ſuch of the Court, whoſe Counſel the King moſt followed; ſo they paſſed through *Northumberland* quietly, till they came to a Ford in the River of *Tine*, a little above *New-Caſtle*, where they found ſome little oppoſition from a Party of the King's Army ſent thither to ſtop them, whom the *Scotch* eaſily maſter'd, and as ſoon as they were over, ſeiz'd upon *New-Caſtle*, and coming farther on, upon the City of *Dureſme*, and ſent to the King to deſire a Treaty, which was granted, and the Commiſſioners on both ſides met at *Rippon*. The Concluſion was, that all ſhould be referr'd to the Parliament, which the King ſhould call to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the third of *November* following, being in the ſame Year 1640. and thereupon the King returned to *London*.

B. So the Armies were disbanded.

A. No; the *Scotch* Army was to be defrayed by the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Durefme*, and the King was to pay his own, till the disbanding of both ſhould be agreed upon in Parliament.

B. So in effect both the Armies were maintain'd at the King's charge, and the whole Controverſie to be decided by a Parliament almoſt wholly Presbyterian, and as partial to the *Scotch* as themſelves could have wiſhed.

A. And yet for all this they durſt not preſently make War upon the King, there was ſo much yet left of reverence to him in the Hearts of the People, as to have made them odious, if they had declared what they intended: they muſt have ſome colour or other to make it believ'd, that the King made War firſt upon the Parliament, and beſides they had not yet ſufficiently diſgraced him in Sermons and Pamphlets, nor removed from about him thoſe they thought could beſt counſel him. Therefore they reſolv'd to proceed with him like skilful Hunters; firſt to ſingle him out by Men diſpoſed in all parts to drive him into the open Field, and then in caſe he ſhould but ſeem to turn head, to call that a making of War againſt the Parliament.

And

And first they call'd in question such as had either preached or written in defence of any of those Rights, which belonging to the Crown, they meant to usurp, and take from the King to themselves: Whereupon some few Preachers and Writers were imprisoned, or forced to fly. The King not protecting these, they proceeded to call in question some of the King's own Actions in his Ministers, whereof they imprisoned some, and some went beyond Sea. And whereas certain persons having endeavoured by Books and Sermons to raise Sedition, and committed other crimes of high nature, had therefore been censured by the King's Council in the Star-Chamber, and imprisoned; the Parliament by their own Authority, to try, it seems, how the King and the People would take it, (for their persons were inconsiderable) ordered their setting at liberty; which was accordingly done, with great applause of the People that flocked about them in *London*, in manner of a Triumph. This being done without resistance, the King's Right to Ship-Money ——

B. Ship-Money! what's that?

A. The Kings of *England*, for the defence of the Sea, had power to tax all the Counties of *England* whether they were Maritime or not, for the building and furnishing of Ships; which Tax the King had then

then lately found cauſe to impoſe, and the Parliament exclaim'd againſt it as an oppreſſion: and one of their Members that had been taxed but 20 *s.* (mark the oppreſſion; a Parliament-man of 500 *l.* a year Land taxed at 20 *s.*) they were forced to bring it to a Tryal at Law, he refuſing payment, and he was caſt. Again, when all the Judges of *Weſtminſter* were demanded their Opinions concerning the Legality of it, of Twelve that there are, it was judged legal by Ten; for which though they were not puniſhed, yet they were afrighted by the Parliament.

B. What did the Parliament mean, when they did exclaim againſt it as illegal? Did they mean it was againſt Statute-Law, or againſt the Judgments of Lawyers given heretofore, which are commonly called Reports; or did they mean it was againſt Equity, which I take to be the ſame with the Law of Nature?

A. It is a hard matter, or rather impoſſible, to know what other Men mean, eſpecially if they be crafty: but ſure I am Equity was not their ground for this pretence of immunity from contributing to the King, but at their own pleaſure: for when they have laid the burthen of defending the whole Kingdom, and governing it, upon any perſon whatſoever, there is very little equity

equity he ſhould depend on others for the means of performing it, or if he do, they are his Sovereign, not he theirs. And as for the Common Law contained in Reports, they have no force, but what the King gives them. Beſides, it were more unreaſonable, that a corrupt or fooliſh Judge his unjuſt Sentence, ſhould by any time, how long ſoever, obtain the Authority and Force of a Law. But amongſt the Statute Laws there is one called *Magna Charta*, or the Great Charter of the Liberties of *Engliſh*-men, in which there is one Article, wherein a King heretofore hath granted, That no Man ſhall be diſtrained, that is, have his Goods taken from him, otherwiſe than by the Law of the Land.

B. Is not that a ſufficient ground for their purpoſe?

A. No, that leaves us in the ſame doubt, which you think it clears: for where was that Law of the Land then? Did they mean another *Magna Charta*, that was made by ſome King more ancient yet? No, that Statute was made, not to exempt any Man from payments to the Publick, but for ſecuring of every Man from ſuch as abuſed the King's Power by ſurreptitious obtaining the King's Warrants, to the oppreſſing of thoſe againſt whom he had any Suit in Law: but it was conducing to the ends of ſome rebel-

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lious Spirits in this Parliament to have it interpreted in the wrong ſenſe, and ſuitable enough to the underſtanding of the reſt, or moſt part of them to let it paſs?

B. You make the Members of that Parliament very ſimple Men, and yet the People choſe them for the wiſeſt of the Land.

A. If Craft be wiſdom, they were wiſe enough; but wiſe, as I define it, is he that knows how to bring his buſineſs to paſs (without the aſſiſtance of knavery and ignoble ſhifts) by the ſole ſtrength of his good contrivance: A Fool may win from a better Gameſter by the advantage of falſe Dice, and packing of Cards.

B. According to your definition there be few wiſe Men now adays; ſuch Wiſdom is a kind of Gallantry that few are brought up to, and moſt think folly. Fine Cloaths, Great Feathers, Civility towards Men that will not ſwallow Injuries, and Injury towards them that will, is the preſent Gallantry: but when the Parliament afterwards, having gotten the power into their hands, levied Money for their own uſe; what ſaid the People to that?

A. What elſe, but that it was legal, and to be paid, as being impoſed by conſent of Parliaments?

B. I have heard often that they ought to pay what was impoſed by conſent of Parliaments

liaments to the uſe of the King; but to their own uſe never before. I ſee by this it is eaſier to gull the Multitude, than any one man amongſt them: for what one man that has not his natural Judgment deprav'd by accident, could be ſo eaſily cozened in a matter that concerns his purſe, had he not been paſſionately carried away by the reſt to change of Government, or rather to a Liberty of every one to govern himſelf?

A. Judge then what kind of men ſuch a multitude of ignorant People were like to elect for their Burgeſſes and Knights of Shires.

B. I can make no other Judgment, but that they, who were then elected, were juſt ſuch as had been elected for former Parliaments, and as are like to be elected for Parliaments to come: for the Common People have been, and always will be ignorant of their duty to the Publick, as never meditating any thing but their particular Intereſt, in other things following their immediate Leaders, which are either the Preachers, or the moſt potent of the Gentlemen that dwell amongſt them; as common Soldiers for the moſt part follow their immediate Captains, if they like them; if you think the late miſeries have made them wiſer, that will quickly be forgot, and then we ſhall be no wiſer than we were.

A. Why

A. Why may not men be taught their duty, that is, the Science of juſt and unjuſt, as divers other Sciences have been taught from true Principles and evident Demonſtration? and much more eaſily than any of thoſe Preachers and Democratical Gentlemen could teach Rebellion and Treaſon.

B. But who can teach what none have learn'd? Or if any man hath been ſo ſingular, as to have ſtudied the Science of Juſtice and Equity; how can he teach it ſafely, when it is againſt the Intereſt of thoſe, that are in poſſeſſion of the Power to hurt him?

A. The Rules of Juſt and Unjuſt ſufficiently demonſtrated, and from Principles evident to the meaneſt capacity, have not been wanting, and notwithſtanding the obſcurity of their Author, have ſhined, not only in this, but alſo in Forreign Countries to men of good education; but they are few in reſpect of the reſt of men, whereof many cannot read; many, though they can, have no leiſure, and of them that have leiſure, the greateſt part have their minds wholly employed and taken up by their private buſineſſes, or pleaſures: So that it is impoſſible, that the Multitude ſhould ever learn their duty, but from the Pulpit and upon Holy-days: but then, and from thence it is, that they learned their diſobedience.

bedience. And therefore the Light of that Doctrine has been hitherto covered, and kept under here by a cloud of Adverſaries, which no private man's Reputation can break through, without the Authority of the Univerſities; but out of the Univerſities came all thoſe Preachers that taught the contrary. The Univerſities have been to this Nation, as the Wooden Horſe was to the *Trojans*.

B. Can you tell me why, and when the Univerſities here and in other places firſt began?

A. It ſeems, for the time, they began in the Reign of the Emperor *Charles* the Great; before which time, I doubt not but that there were many Grammar Schools for the Latin Tongue, which was the natural Language of the *Roman* Church; but for Univerſities, that is to ſay, Schools for the Sciences in general, and eſpecially for Divinity; it is manifeſt, that the Inſtitution of them was recommended by the Pope's Letter to the Emperor *Charles* the Great, and recommended farther by a Council held in his time, I think, at *Chalon ſur Saone*; and not long after was erected an Univerſity at *Paris*; and the Colledge call'd *Univerſity-Colledge* at *Oxford*: And ſo by degrees ſeveral Biſhops, Noble-men and Rich-men, and ſome Kings and Queens contributing thereunto,

unto, the Universities obtained at last their present splendor.

B. But what was the Pope's design in it?

A. What other design was he like to have, but what you heard before, the advancement of his own Authority in the Countries where the Universities were erected? There they learned to dispute for him, and with unintelligible distinctions to blind mens Eyes, whilst they incroached upon the Right of Kings; and it was an evident Argument of that Design, that they fell in hand with the work so quickly. For the first Rector of the University of *Paris*, as I have read somewhere, was *Peter Lombard*, who first brought in them the Learning called School-Divinity; and was seconded by *John Scot* of *Duns*, who lived in, or near the same time, whom any ingenious Reader, not knowing what was the Design, would judge to have been two the most egregious Block-heads in the World, so obscure and senseless are their Writings. And from these the School-men that succeeded, learnt the trick of imposing what they list upon their Readers, and declining the force of true Reason by Verbal Forkes, I mean Distinctions that signifie nothing, but serve only to astonish the multitude of ignorant Men. As for the understanding Readers, they were so few, that these new sublime Doctors cared not

not what they thought. These School men were to make good all the Articles of Faith, which the Popes from time to time should command to be believ'd: amongst which there were very many inconsistent with the Rights of Kings, and other Civil Sovereigns, as asserting to the Pope all Authority whatsoever they should declare to be necessary, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, that is to say, in order to Religion.

From the Universities also it was, That all Preachers proceeded, and were poured out into City and Country to terrifie the People into an absolute obedience to the Pope's Canons and Commands, which for fear of wakening Kings and Princes too much, they durst not yet call Laws.

From the Universities it was, That the Philosophy of *Aristotle* was made an Ingredient to Religion, as serving for a Salve to a great many of absurd Articles, concerning the Nature of Christ's Body, and the Estate of Angels and Saints in Heaven; which Articles they thought fit to have believed, because they bring some of them profit, and others reverence to the Clergy, even to the meanest of them: for when they shall have made the People believe that the meanest of them can make the Body of Christ, who is there that will not both shew them reverence, and be liberal to them,

or to the Church, especially in the time of their sickness, when they think they make and bring unto them their Saviour?

B. But, what advantage to them in these Impostures was the Doctrine of *Aristotle*?

A. They have made more use of his obscurity than of his Doctrine: for none of the Ancient Philosophers Writings are comparable to those of *Aristotle* for their aptness to puzzle, and entangle men with words, and to breed Disputation, which must at last be ended in the Determination of the Church of *Rome*; and yet in the Doctrine of *Aristotle* they made use of many Points; as first the Doctrine of seperated Essences.

B. What are seperated Essences?

A. Seperated Beings.

B. Seperated from what?

A. From every thing that is.

B. I cannot understand the Being of any thing, which I understand not to be: but what can they make of that?

A. Very much in questions concerning the Nature of God, and concerning the Estate of Man's Soul after death, in Heaven, Hell and Purgatory; by which you, and every man knows, how great obedience, and how much Money they gain from the Common People. Whereas *Aristotle* holdeth the Soul of Man to be the first giver of motion

motion to the Body, and conſequently to it ſelf; they make uſe of that in the Doctrine of Free-will; what, and how they gain by that, I will not ſay.

He holdeth forth, that there be many things that come to paſs in this World from no neceſſity of Cauſes, but meer Contingency, Caſualty and Fortune.

B. Methinks, in this they make God ſtand idle, and to be a meer Spectator of the Games of Fortune; for what God is the cauſe of muſt needs come to paſs, and in my opinion, nothing elſe. But becauſe there muſt be ſome ground for the Juſtice of the Eternal Torment of the damned; perhaps it is this, that mens Wills and Propenſions are not (they think) in the Hands of God, but of themſelves; and in this alſo I ſee ſomewhat conducing to the Authority of the Church.

A. This is not much, nor was *Ariſtotle* of ſuch credit with them, but that when his Opinion was againſt theirs, they could ſlight him. Whatſoever he ſays is impoſſible in nature, they can prove well enough to be poſſible, from the Almighty Power of God, who can make many Bodies to be in one and the ſelf-ſame place, and one Body to be in many places at the ſame time, if the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation require it, though *Ariſtotle* deny it. I like not the

Deſign of drawing Religion into an Art, whereas it ought to be a Law; and though not the ſame in all Countries, yet in every Country undiſputable; nor that they teach it not as Arts ought to be taught, by ſhewing firſt the meaning of their Terms, and then deriving from them the truth they would have us believe; nor that their Terms are, for the moſt part, unintelligible, though to make it ſeem rather want of Learning in the Reader, than want of fair dealing in themſelves: They are, for the moſt part, Latin and Greek words, wryed a little at the point, towards the Native Language of the ſeveral Countries, where they are uſed: But that which is moſt intolerable is, that all Clerks are forced to make as if they believed them, if they mean to have any Church-preferment, the Keys whereof are in the Pope's Hands; and the Common People, whatſoever they believe of thoſe ſubtile Doctrines, are never eſteemed better Sons of the Church for their Learning. There is but one way there to Salvation, that is, extraordinary Devotion and Liberality to the Church, and readineſs for the Churches ſake, if it be requir'd, to fight againſt their Natural and Lawful Sovereigns.

B. I ſee what uſe they make of *Ariſtotle*'s Logick, Phyſicks, and Metaphyſicks; but I ſee

I see not yet how his Politicks can serve their turn.

A. Nor I. It has (I think) done them no good, though it has done us here much hurt by accident: for men grown weary at last of the Insolence of the Priests, and examining the truth of these Doctrines that were put upon them, began to search the sense of the Scriptures, as they are in the learned Languages, and consequently studying Greek and Latin, became acquainted with the Democratical Principles of *Aristotle* and *Cicero*, and from the love of their Eloquence, fell in love with their Politicks, and that more and more, till it grew into the Rebellion we now talk of, without any other advantage to the *Roman* Church, but that it was a weakening to us, whom since we broke out of their Net, in the time of *Henry* the 8*th*, they have continually endeavoured to recover.

B. What have they gotten by the teaching of *Aristotle*'s Ethicks.

A. It is some advantage to them, that neither the Morals of *Aristotle*, nor of any other, have done them any harm, nor us any good. Their Doctrines have caused a great deal of dispute concerning Vertue and Vice, but no knowledge of what they are, nor any method of obtaining Vertue, nor of avoiding Vice.

The end of Moral Philoſophy is to teach men of all ſorts their duty, both to the Publick and to one another. They eſtimate Vertue, partly by a Mediocrity of the Paſſions of men, and partly by that that they are praiſed; whereas it is not the Much, or Little Praiſe that makes an Action vertuous, but the Cauſe; nor much or little blame that makes an Action vitious, but its being unconformable to the Laws, in ſuch men as are ſubject to the Law, or its being unconformable to Equity or Charity in all men whatſoever.

B. It ſeems you make a difference between the Ethicks of Subjects, and the Ethicks of Sovereigns.

A. So I do. The Vertue of a Subject is comprehended wholly in obedience to the Laws of the Common-wealth. To obey the Laws is Juſtice and Equity, which is the Law of Nature, and conſequently is Civil Law in all Nations of the World: and nothing is Injuſtice or Iniquity otherwiſe than it is againſt the Law. Likewiſe to obey the Laws is the Prudence of a Subject; for without ſuch obedience the Common-wealth (which is every Subject's ſafety and protection) cannot ſubſiſt. And though it be prudence alſo in private men, juſtly and moderately to enrich themſelves, yet craftily to with-hold from the Publick, or defraud

it

it of ſuch part of their wealth, as is by Law requir'd, is no ſign of prudence, but of want of knowledge of what is neceſſary for their own defence.

The Vertues of Sovereigns are ſuch as tend to the maintenance of peace at home, and to the reſiſtance of Forreign Enemies. Fortitude is a Royal Vertue, and though it be neceſſary in ſuch private men as ſhall be Soldiers, yet for other men, the leſs they dare, the better it is, both for the Common-wealth, and for themſelves. Frugality (though perhaps you will think it ſtrange) is alſo a Royal Vertue: for it increaſes the Publick Stock, which cannot be too great for the Publick Uſe, nor any man too ſparing of what he has in truſt for the good of others. Liberality alſo is a Royal Vertue: for the Common-wealth cannot be well ſerved without extraordinary diligence and ſervice of Miniſters, and great fidelity to their Sovereigns, who ought therefore to be encouraged, and eſpecially thoſe that do him ſervice in the Wars. In ſum, all Actions and Habits are to be eſteemed good or evil by their cauſes and uſefulneſs, in reference to the Common-wealth, and not by their Mediocrity, nor by their being commended: for ſeveral men praiſe ſeveral Cuſtoms, and that which is Vertue with one is blamed by others, and contrarily what

one

one calls Vice, another calls Vertue, as their preſent affections lead them.

B. Methinks you ſhould have placed among the Vertues that, which in my opinion is the greateſt of all Vertues, Religion.

A. So I have, though, it ſeems, you did not obſerve it. But whither do we digreſs from the way we were in?

B. I think you have not digreſſed at all: for I ſuppoſe your purpoſe was, to acquaint me with the Hiſtory, not ſo much of thoſe Actions that paſs'd in the time of the late Troubles, as of their Cauſes, and of the Councels and Artifice by which they were brought to paſs. There be divers men that have written the Hiſtory, out of whom I might have learned what they did, and ſomewhat alſo of the Contrivance; but I find little in them of what I would ask. Therefore ſince you were pleas'd to enter into this diſcourſe at my requeſt, be pleaſed alſo to inform me after my own method: and for the danger of confuſion that may ariſe from that, I will take care to bring you back to the place from whence I drew you; for I well remember where it was.

A. Well then: To your queſtion concerning Religion; in as much as I told you, that all Vertue is comprehended in Obedience to the Laws of the Common-wealth, whereof Religion is one, I have placed Religion amongſt the Vertues.

B. Is

B. Is Religion then the Law of a Common-wealth?

A. There is no Nation in the World, whoſe Religion is not eſtabliſhed, and receives not its Authority from the Laws of that Nation. It is true, that the Law of God receives no evidence from the Laws of Men; but becauſe Men can never by their own wiſdom come to the knowledge of what God hath ſpoken and commanded to be obſerv'd, nor be obliged to obey the Laws, whoſe Author they know not, they are to acquieſce in ſome Humane Authority or other. So that the Queſtion will be, whether a Man ought in matter of Religion, that is to ſay, when there is queſtion of his duty to God and the King, to rely upon the preaching of their Fellow-Subjects, or of a Stranger, or upon the Voice of the Law?

B. There is no great difficulty in that Point: for there is none that preach here, or any where elſe, at leaſt ought to preach, but ſuch as have Authority ſo to do from him, or them that have the Sovereign Power; ſo that if the King gives us leave, you or I may as lawfully preach as them that do; and I believe we ſhould perform that Office a great deal better than they that preached us into the Rebellion.

A. The Church Morals are in many Points very different from theſe that I have here

here ſet down, for the Doctrine of Vertue and Vice; and yet without any conformity with that of *Ariſtotle*. For in the Church of *Rome* the principal Vertues are to obey their Doctrine, though it be Treaſon, and that is to be Religious: To be beneficial to the Clergy, that is their Piety and Liberality, and to believe upon their word that which a man knows in his Conſcience to be falſe, which is the Faith they require. I could name a great many more ſuch Points of their Morals, but that I know you know them already, being ſo well verſed in the Caſes of Conſcience written by their Schoolmen, who meaſure the goodneſs and wickedneſs of all Actions, by their congruity with the Doctrine of the *Roman* Clergy.

B. But what is the Moral Philoſophy of the Proteſtant Clergy in *England*?

A. So much as they ſhew of it in their Life and Converſation is for the moſt part very good, and of very good example, much better than their Writings.

B. It happens many times that men live honeſtly for fear, who, if they had power, would live according to their own Opinions; that is, if their Opinions be not right, unrighteouſly.

A. Do the Clergy in *England* pretend as the Pope does, or as the Presbyterians do, to have a Right from God immediately to govern

govern the King and his Subjects in all Points of Religion and Manners; if they do, you cannot doubt but that if they had number and ſtrength, which they are never like to have, they would attempt to obtain that Power, as the others have done.

B. I would be glad to ſee a Syſteme of the preſent Morals written by ſome Divine of good Reputation and Learning, and of the late King's Party.

A. I think I can recommend unto you the beſt that is extant, and ſuch a one as (except a few paſſages that I miſlike) is very well worth your reading. The Title of it is, *The whole Duty of Man laid down in a plain and familiar way*; and yet I dare ſay, that if the Presbyterian Miniſters, even thoſe of them which were the moſt diligent Preachers of the late Sedition, were to be tryed by it, they would go near to be found Not Guilty. He has divided the Duty of Man into three great Branches, which are his Duty to God, to Himſelf, and to his Neighbour. In his Duty to God he puts the acknowledgement of him in his Eſſence and his Attributes, and in the believing of his Word: His Attributes are Omnipotence, Omniſcience, Infiniteneſs, Juſtice, Truth, Mercy, and all the reſt that are found in Scripture. Which of theſe did not thoſe ſeditious Preachers acknowledge equally with

with the beſt of Chriſtians? The Word of God are the Books of Holy Scripture receiv'd for Canonical in *England*.

B. They receive the Word of God, but 'tis according to their own Interpretation.

A. According to whoſe Interpretation was it receiv'd, by the Biſhops, and the reſt of the Loyal Party, but their own? He puts for another Duty Obedience and Submiſſion to Gods Will. Did any of them, nay did any man living do any thing at any time againſt God's Will?

B. By God's Will I ſuppoſe he means there his revealed Will, that is to ſay, his Commandements, which I am ſure they did moſt horribly break, both by their preaching and otherwiſe.

A. As for their Actions, there is no doubt but all men are guilty enough (if God deal ſeverely with them) to be damn'd. And for their preaching, they will ſay they thought it agreeable to Gods revealed Will in the Scriptures; if they thought it ſo, it was not diſobedience, but error; and how can any man prove they thought otherwiſe?

B. Hypocriſie hath this great Prerogative above other ſins, that it cannot be accus'd,

A. Another Duty he ſets down is, to Honour him in his Houſe, that is, the Church, in

in his Poſſeſſions, in his Day, in his Word and Sacraments.

B. They perform this Duty as well (I think) as any other Miniſters, I mean the Loyal Party, and the Presbyterians have always had an equal care to have God's Houſe free from Profanation; To have Tithes duly paid, and Offerings accepted; To have the Sabbath-day kept holy, the Word preached, and the Lords Supper and Baptiſm duly adminiſtred. But is not keeping of the Feaſts and of the Faſts one of thoſe Duties that belong to the Honour of God? If it be, the Presbyterians fail in that.

A. Why ſo? They kept ſome Holy-days, and they had Faſts amongſt themſelves, though not upon the ſame days that the Church ordains, but when they thought fit; as when it pleaſed God to give the King any notable Victory; and they govern'd themſelves in this Point by the Holy Scripture, as they pretend to believe; and who can prove they do not believe ſo?

B. Let us paſs over all other Duties, and come to that Duty which we owe to the King, and conſider whether the Doctrine taught by thoſe Divines which adhered to the King be ſuch, in that Point, as may juſtifie the Presbyterians, that incited the People to Rebellion: for that's the thing you call in queſtion.

A. Con-

Concerning our Duty to our Rulers, he hath theſe words: An Obedience we muſt pay, either active or paſſive; the active, in the caſe of all lawful Commands, that is, whenever the Magiſtrate commands ſomething which is not contrary to ſome Command of God, we are then bound to act according to that Command of the Magiſtrate, to do the things he requires: but when he enjoyns any thing contrary to what God hath commanded, we are not then to pay him this Active Obedience; we may, nay we muſt refuſe thus to act, (yet here we muſt be very well aſſur'd, that the thing is ſo contrary, and not pretend Conſcience for a Cloak of ſtubbornneſs) we are in that Caſe to obey God, rather than Men: but even this is a ſeaſon for the Paſſive Obedience, we muſt patiently ſuffer what he inflicts on us for ſuch refuſal, and not, to ſecure our ſelves, riſe up againſt him.

B. What is there in this to give colour to the late Rebellion.

A. They will ſay they did it in obedience to God, in as much as they did believe it was according to the Scripture: out of which they will bring Examples perhaps of *David* and his adherents, that reſiſted King *Saul*, and of the Prophets afterward, that vehemently from time to time preached againſt

againſt the Idolatrous Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*. *Saul* was their lawful King, and yet they paid him neither Active nor Paſſive Obedience; for they did put themſelves into a poſture of defence againſt him, though *David* himſelf ſpared his Perſon; and ſo did the Presbyterians put into their Commiſſions to their General, that they ſhould ſpare the King's Perſon. Beſides, you cannot doubt but that they who in the Pulpit did animate the People to take Arms in defence of the then Parliament, alleadged Scripture, that is, the Word of God for it. If it be lawful then for Subjects to reſiſt the King, when he commands any thing that is againſt the Scripture, that is contrary to the Command of God, and to be Judge of the meaning of the Scripture, it is impoſſible that the Life of any King, or the Peace of any Chriſtian Kingdom can be long ſecure. It is this Doctrine that divides a Kingdom within it ſelf, whatſoever the Men be, Loyal, or Rebels, that write or preach it publickly. And thus you ſee, that if thoſe ſeditious Miniſters be tryed by this Doctrine, they will come off well enough.

B. I ſee it; and wonder at People that having never ſpoken with God Almighty, nor knowing one more than another what he hath ſaid, when the Laws and the Preacher diſagree, ſhould ſo keenly follow the

Miniſter, for the moſt part an Ignorant, though a ready Tongu'd Scholar, rather than the Laws that were made by the King, with the conſent of the Peers and the Commons of the Land.

A. Let us examine his words a little nearer: Firſt, Concerning Paſſive Obedience. When a Thief hath broken the Laws, and according to the Law is therefore executed, can any man underſtand, that this ſuffering of his is an obedience to the Law? Every Law is a Command to do, or to forbear, neither of theſe is fulfilled by ſuffering. If any Suffering can be called Obedience, it muſt be ſuch as is voluntary; for no involuntary Action can be counted a ſubmiſſion to the Law. He that means that his ſuffering ſhould be taken for obedience, muſt not only not reſiſt, but alſo not fly, nor hide himſelf to avoid his puniſhment; and who is there amongſt them that diſcourſes of Paſſive Obedience, when his Life is in extream danger, that will voluntarily preſent himſelf to the Officers of Juſtice? Do not we ſee that all men when they are led to Execution are both bound and guarded, and would break looſe, if they could, and get away? Such is their Paſſive Obedience. Chriſt ſaith, *The Scribes and Phariſees ſit in* Moſes *Chair; all therefore whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve and do,* Mat 23. 3. which

which is a doing an Active Obedience: and yet the Scribes and Phariſees appear not by the Scripture to have been ſuch godly men, as never to command any thing againſt the revealed Will of God.

B. Muſt Tyrants alſo be obeyed in every thing actively? Or is there nothing wherein a lawful King's Command may be diſobeyed? What if he ſhould command me with my own hands to execute my Father, in caſe he ſhould be condemn'd to die by the Law?

A. This is a Caſe that need not be put. We never have read, nor heard of any King, or Tyrant ſo inhumane as to command it. If any did, we are to conſider whether that Command were one of his Laws: for by diſobeying Kings, we mean the diſobeying of his Laws, thoſe his Laws that were made before they were applyed to any particular perſon: for the King, though as a Father of Children, and a Maſter of Domeſtick Servants, yet he commands the People in general never but by a precedent Law, and as a Politick, not a Natural Perſon. And if ſuch a Command as you ſpeak of were contriv'd into a general Law, (which never was, nor never will be) you were bound to obey it, unleſs you depart the Kingdom after the Publication of the Law, and before the Condemnation of your Father.

B. Your Author ſays farther, in refuſing Active Obedience to the King that commanded any thing contrary to God's Law, we muſt be very well aſſur'd that the thing is ſo contrary. I would fain know how it is poſſible to be aſſur'd?

A. I think you do not believe that any of thoſe Refuſers do, immediately from God's own mouth, receive any command contrary to the Command of the King, who is God's Lieutenant, nor any other way than you and I do, that is to ſay, than by the Scriptures. And becauſe men do, for the moſt part, rather draw the Scripture to their own ſenſe, than follow the true ſenſe of the Scripture, there is no other way to know certainly, and in all Caſes, what God commands, or forbids us to do, but by the Sentence of him or them that are conſtituted by the King to determine the ſenſe of the Scripture upon hearing of the particular Caſe of Conſcience, which is in queſtion. And they that are ſo conſtituted are eaſily known in all Chriſtian Common-wealths, whether they be Biſhops, or Miniſters, or Aſſemblies that govern the Church under him, or them that have the Sovereign Power.

B. Some doubts may be rais'd from this that you now ſay: for if Men be to learn their Duty from the Sentence which other Men

Men ſhall give, concerning the meaning of the Scriptures, and not from their own Interpretation, I underſtand not to what end they were tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and every man, not only permitted, but alſo exhorted to read them. For what could that produce but diverſity of opinion, and conſequently (as Man's Nature is) Diſputation, breach of Charity, Diſobedience, and at laſt Rebellion? Again, ſince the Scripture was allowed to be read in *Engliſh*, why were not the Tranſlations ſuch as might make all that's read underſtood even by mean Capacities? Did not the *Jews*, ſuch as could read, underſtand their Law in the Jewiſh Language, as well as we do our Statute Laws in *Engliſh*? And as for ſuch places of the Scripture, as had nothing of the Nature of a Law, it was nothing to the Duty of the *Jews*, whether they were underſtood or not, ſeeing nothing is puniſhable, but the Tranſgreſſion of ſome Law.

The ſame Queſtion I may ask concerning the New Teſtament: for I believe, that thoſe Men to whom the Original Language was natural, did underſtand ſufficiently what Commands and Counſels were given them by our Saviour and his Apoſtles, and his immediate Diſciples. Again; how will you anſwer that Queſtion which was put by St. *Peter* and St. *John*, *Acts* 4. 19. when by

Annas the High Prieſt, and others of the Councel of *Jeruſalem*, they were forbidden to teach any more in the Name of Jeſus? Whether is it right in the ſight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God?

A. The Caſe is not the ſame. *Peter* and *John* had ſeen, and daily converſed with our Saviour, and by the Miracles he wrought, did know he was God, and conſequently knew certainly, that their diſobedience to the High Prieſts preſent Command was juſt. Can any Miniſter now ſay, that he hath immediately, from God's own Mouth, receiv'd a Command to diſobey the King, or know otherwiſe, than by the Scripture, that any Command of the King, that hath the Form and Nature of a Law, is againſt the Law of God; which in divers places directly and evidently commandeth to obey him in all things. The Text you cite does not tell us, that a Miniſter's Authority, rather than a Chriſtian King's, ſhall decide the Queſtions that ariſe from the different Interpretations of the Scripture. And therefore, where the King is Head of the Church, and by conſequence (to omit, that the Scripture it ſelf was not received, but by the Authority of Kings and States) Chief Judge of the rectitude of all Interpretations of the Scripture. To obey the Kings Laws and publick Edicts is not to diſobey, but to

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obey God. A Miniſter ought not to think, that his skill in the *Latin*, *Greek* or *Hebrew* Tongues, if he have any, gives him a Priviledge to impoſe upon all his Fellow-Subjects his own ſenſe, or what he pretends to be his ſenſe of every obſcure place of Scripture; nor ought he, as oft as he hath found out ſome fine Interpretation, not before thought on by others, to think he had it by Inſpiration: for he cannot be aſſur'd of that; no, nor that his Interpretation, as fine as he thinks it, is not falſe; and then all his ſtubbornneſs and contumacy toward the King, and his Laws, is nothing but Pride of Heart and Ambition, or elſe Impoſture. And whereas you think it needleſs, or perhaps hurtful to have the Scriptures in *Engliſh*, I am of another mind. There are ſo many places of Scripture eaſie to be underſtood, that teach both true Faith, and good Morality, and that as fully as is neceſſary to ſalvation; of which no Seducer is able to diſpoſſeſs the mind of any ordinary Readers, that the reading of them is ſo profitable, as not to be forbidden without great damage to them and the Common-wealth.

B. All that is requir'd, both in Faith and Manners, for Man's Salvation, is (I confeſs) ſet down in Scripture, as plainly as can be. *Children obey your Parents in all things. Servants obey your Maſters. Let all Men be ſubject to the*

Higher Powers, whether it be the King, or thoſe that are ſent by him. Love God with all your Soul, and your Neighbour as your ſelf, are words of the Scripture, which are well enough underſtood: but neither Children, nor the greateſt part of Men do underſtand why it is their Duty to do ſo. They ſee not that the ſafety of the Common-wealth, and conſequently their own, depends upon their doing it. Every man by nature, without diſcipline, does in all his Actions look upon, as far as he can ſee, the benefit that ſhall redound to himſelf from his obedience. He reads that Covetouſneſs is the root of all evil, but he thinks, and ſometimes finds it is the root of his Eſtate. And ſo in other Caſes the Scripture ſays one thing, and they think another, weighing the Commodities or Incommodities of this preſent life only, which are in their ſight, never putting into the Scales the Good and Evil of the Life to come, which they ſee not.

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there will come out of them, from time to time, well principled Preachers, and they that are now ill principled from time to time fall away.

B. I think it a very good courſe, and perhaps the only one, that can make our peace amongſt our ſelves conſtant. For if men know not their Duty, what is there that can force them to obey the Laws? An Army you'l ſay; but what ſhall force the Army? Were not the Train'd-Bands an Army? Were they not the Janiſaries, that not very long ago ſlew *Oſman* in his own Palace at *Conſtantinople*? I am therefore of your opinion, both that men may be brought to a love of obedience by Preachers and Gentlemen that imbibe good Principles in their Youth at the Univerſities, and alſo, that we never ſhall have a laſting Peace, till the Univerſities themſelves be in ſuch manner (as you have ſaid) reformed; and the Miniſters know they have no Authority but what the Supreme Civil Power gives them; and the Nobility and Gentry know, that the Liberty of a State is not an exemption from the Laws of their own Country, whether made by an Aſſembly, or by a Monarch; but an exemption from the conſtraint and inſolence of their Neighbours.

And now I am ſatisfied in this Point, I will bring you back to the place, from whence

whence my curioſity drew you to this long digreſſion.

We were upon the Point of Ship-Money, one of thoſe grievances which the Parliament exclaimed againſt as Tyrannical and Arbitrary Government, thereby to ſingle out (as you call'd it) the King from his Subjects, and to make a Party againſt him, when they ſhould need it. And now you may proceed, if it pleaſe you, to ſuch other Artifices as they uſed to the ſame purpoſe.

A. I think it were better to give over here our Diſcourſe of this buſineſs, and refer it to ſome other day that you ſhall think fit.

B. Content, That day, I believe, is not far off.

Behemoth.

PART II.

A. YOU are welcome; yet if you had ſtayed ſomewhat longer, my memory would have been ſo much the better provided for you.

B. Nay, I pray you give me now what you have about you; for the reſt I am content you take what time you pleaſe.

A. After the Parliament had made the People believe, that the exacting of Ship-Money was unlawful, and the People thereby inclined to think it Tyrannical; in the next place, to increaſe their diſaffection to his Majeſty, they accuſed him of a purpoſe, to introduce and authorize the *Roman* Religion in this Kingdom, than which nothing was more hateful to the People; not becauſe it was erroneous, (which they had neither Learning nor Judgment enough to examine) but becauſe they had been uſed to hear it inveighed againſt in the Sermons

and Diſcourſes of the Preachers, whom they truſted to: and this was indeed the moſt effectual calumny, to alienate the People's affections from him, that could poſſibly be invented. The colour they had for this ſlander was firſt, that there was one *Roſetti* Reſident (at and a little before that time) from the Pope, with the Queen, and one Mr. *George Con* Secretary to the Cardinal *Franciſco Barbarini*, Nephew to Pope *Urban* the 8*th*, ſent over under favour and protection of the Queen (as was conceiv'd) to draw as many Perſons of Quality about the Court, as he ſhould be able, to reconcile themſelves to the Church of *Rome*; with what ſucceſs I cannot tell; but it is likely he gained ſome, eſpecially of the weaker Sex, if I may ſay they were gained by him, when, not his Arguments, but hope of favour from the Queen in all probability prevailed upon them.

B. In ſuch a conjuncture as that was it had perhaps been better they had not been ſent.

A. There was exception alſo taken at a Covent of Friers Capucins in *Somerſet-houſe*, though allowed by the Articles of Marriage: and it was reported, that the Jeſuits alſo were ſhortly after to be allowed a Covent in *Clerkenwel*: and in the mean time, the principal Secretary, Sir *Francis Windebank*,

was accuſed for having by his Warrant ſet at liberty ſome *Engliſh* Jeſuits, that had been taken and impriſon'd, for returning into *England* after baniſhment, contrary to the Statute which had made it Capital. Alſo the reſort of *Engliſh* Catholicks to the Queens Chappel gave them colour to blame the Queen her ſelf, not only for that, but alſo for all the favours that had been ſhewn to the Cotholicks; in ſo much that ſome of them did not ſtick to ſay openly, that the King was govern'd by her.

B. Strange injuſtice! The Queen was a Catholick by profeſſion, and therefore could not but endeavour to do the Catholicks all the good ſhe could, ſhe had not elſe been truly that which ſhe profeſſed to be: but it ſeems they meant to force her to Hypocriſie, being Hypocrites themſelves. Can any man think it a crime in a devout Lady, of what Sect ſoever, to ſeek the favour and benediction of that Church whereof ſhe is a Member?

A. To give the Parliament another colour for their Accuſation on foot of the King, as to introducing of Popery, there was a great Controverſie between the Epiſcopal and Presbyterian Clergy about Free-will. The Diſpute began firſt in the Low Countries, between *Gomar* and *Armin*, in the time of King *James*, who foreſeeing it

might trouble the Church of *England*, did what he could to compose the difference; and an Assembly of Divines was thereupon got together at *Dort*, to which also King *James* sent a Divine or two, but it came to nothing; the Question was left undecided, and became a Subject to be disputed of in the Universities here. All the Presbyterians were of the same mind with *Goman*, but a very great many others not, and those were called here Arminians, who because the Doctrine of Free-will had been exploded as a Papistical Doctrine, and because the Presbyterians were far the greater number, and already in favour with the People, were generally hated; it was easie therefore for the Parliament to make that calumny pass currently with the People, when the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Laud*, was for *Arminius*, and had a little before, by his Power Ecclesiastical, forbidden all Ministers to preach to the People of Predestination: and when all Ministers that were gratious with him, and hoped for any Church-preferment fell to preaching and writing for Free-will, to the uttermost of their power, as a proof of their ability and merit. Besides, they gave out some of them, that the Arch-bishop was in heart a Papist; and in Case he could effect a Toleration here of the *Roman* Religion, was to have a Cardinals

nals Hat, which was, not only falſe, but alſo without any ground at all for a ſuſpition.

B. It is a ſtrang thing, that Scholars, obſcure men, that could receive no clarity but from the flame of the State, ſhould be ſuffered to bring their unneceſſary Diſputes, and together with them their quarrels, out of the Univerſities into the Common-wealth: and more ſtrange, that the State ſhould engage in their Parties, and not rather put them both to ſilence. A State can conſtrain obedience, but convince no error, nor alter the mind of them that believe they have the better reaſon. Suppreſſion of Doctrines does but unite and exaſperate; that is, increaſe both the malice and power of them that have already believed them. But what are the Points they diſagree in? Is there any Controverſie between Biſhop and Preſbyterian concerning the Divinity or Humanity of Chriſt? Do either of them deny the Trinity, or any Article of the Creed? Does either Party preach openly, or write directly againſt Juſtice, Charity, Sobriety, or any other Duty neceſſary to Salvation; except only the Duty to the King, and not that neither, but when they have a mind, either to rule, or deſtroy the King? Lord have mercy upon us! Can no body be ſaved that underſtands not their Diſputations?

Or is there more requiſite, either of Faith, or Honeſty, for the Salvation of one man than another? What needs ſo much preaching of Faith to us that are no Heathens, and that believe already all that Chriſt and his Apoſtles have told us is neceſſary to ſalvation, and more too? Why is there ſo little preaching of Juſtice? I have indeed heard Righteouſneſs often recommended to the People, but I have ſeldom heard the word Juſtice in their Sermons; nay, though in the Latin and Greek Bible the word Juſtice occur exceeding often; yet in the *Engliſh*, (though it be a word that every man underſtands) the word Righteouſneſs (which few underſtand to ſignifie the ſame, but take it rather for Rightneſs of Opinion than of Action or Intention) is put in the place of it.

A. I confeſs I know very few Controverſies amongſt Chriſtians of Points neceſſary to ſalvation. They are the Queſtions of Authority and Power over the Church, or of Profit, or of Honour to Church men, that for the moſt part raiſe all the Controverſies. For what man is he, that will trouble himſelf, and fall out with his Neighbours for the ſaving of my Soul, or the Soul of any other than himſelf? When the Presbyterian Miniſters and others did ſo furiouſly preach Sedition, and animate Men

to

to Rebellion in these late Wars; who was there that had not a Benefice, or having one, feared not to lose it, or some other part of his maintenance by the alteration of the Government, that did voluntarily, without any eye to reward, preach so earnestly against Sedition, as the other Party preached for it? I confess, that for ought I have observed in History, and other Writings of the Heathens, Greek and Latin, that those Heathens were not at all behind us in Point of Vertue and Moral Duties, notwithstanding that we have had much preaching, and they none at all. I confess also, that considering what harm may proceed from a liberty that men have upon every *Sunday*, and other, to Harangue all the People of a Nation at one time, whilst the State is ignorant of what they will say, and that there is no such thing permitted in all the World out of Christendome, nor therefore any Civil Wars about Religion, I have thought much preaching an inconvenience, nevertheless I cannot think that preaching to the People the Points of their Duty, both to God and Man, can be too frequent; so it be done by grave, discreet and ancient Men that are reverenced by the People; and not by light quibling young men, whom no Congregation is so simple, as to look to be taught by, (as being a thing contrary to nature)

nature) or to pay them any reverence, or to care what they ſay, except ſome few that may be delighted with their jingling: I wiſh with all my heart there were enough of ſuch diſcreet and ancient men, as might ſuffice for all the Pariſhes of *England*, and that they would undertake it. But this is but a wiſh; I leave it to the Wiſdom of the State to do what it pleaſeth.

B. What did they next?

A. Whereas the King had ſent Priſoners into places remote from *London*, three Perſons that had been condemn'd for publiſhing ſeditious Doctrine, ſome in writing, ſome in publick Sermons, the Parliament (whether with his Majeſties conſent or no, I have forgotten) cauſed them to be releaſed, and to return to *London*; meaning (I think) to try how the People would be pleas'd therewith, and by conſequence, how their endeavours to draw the Peoples affections from the King had already proſpered. When theſe three came through *London*, it was a kind of Triumph, the People flocking together to behold them, and receiving them with ſuch Acclamations, and almoſt Adoration, as if they had been let down from Heaven. In ſo much as the Parliament was now ſufficiently aſſur'd of a great and tumultuous Party, whenſoever they ſhould have occaſion to uſe it. On confidence where-

whereof they proceeded to their next Plot, which was to deprive the King of ſuch Miniſters as by their Wiſdom, Courage and Authority they thought moſt able to prevent, or oppoſe their farther Deſigns againſt the King.

And firſt the Houſe of Commons reſolv'd to impeach the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* of High Treaſon.

B. What was that Earl of *Strafford* before he had that place? And how had he offended the Parliament, or given them cauſe to think he would be their Enemy? for I have heard that in former Parliaments he had been as Parliamentary as any other.

A. His name was Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, a Gentleman, both for Birth and Eſtate very conſiderable in his own Countrey, which was *York-ſhire*, but more conſiderable for his Judgment in the publick Affairs, not only of that Countrey, but generally of the Kingdom, and was therefore often choſen for the Parliament, either as Burgeſs for ſome Burrough, or Knight of the Shire. For his Principles of Politicks, they were the ſame that were generally proceeded upon by all men elſe that were thought fit to be choſen for the Parliament, which are commonly theſe. To take for the Rule of Juſtice and Government the Judgments and Acts of former Parliaments, which are commonly

monly called Presidents. To endeavour to keep the People from being subject to Extraparliamentary Taxes of Money, and from being with Parliamentary Taxes too much oppressed. To preserve to the People their Liberty of body from the Arbitrary Power of the King out of Parliament. To seek redress of Grievances.

B. What Grievances?

A. The Grievances commonly were such as these. The King's too much Liberality to some Favorite. The too much power of some Minister or Officer of the Commonwealth. The misdemeanour of Judges Civil or Spiritual, but especially all unparliamentary raising of Money upon the Subjects. And commonly of late, till such Grievances be redressed, they refuse, or at least make great difficulty to furnish the King with Money necessary for the most urgent occasions of the Common-wealth.

B. How then can a King discharge his Duty as he ought to do, or the Subject know which of his Masters he is to obey; for here are manifestly two Powers, which, when they chance to differ, cannot both be obeyed?

A. 'Tis true, but they have not often differed so much to the danger of the Common-wealth, as they have done in this Parliament 1640. In all the Parliaments of the

the late King *Charles*, before the Year 1640. my Lord of *Strafford* did appear in oppoſition to the King's demands, as much as any man, and was, for that cauſe, very much eſteem'd and cried up by the People as a good Patriot, and one that couragiouſly ſtood up in defence of their Liberties; and for the ſame cauſe was ſo much the more hated, when afterwards he endeavoured to maintain the Royal and juſt Authority of his Majeſty.

B. How came he to change his mind ſo much, as it ſeems he did?

A. After the diſſolution of the Parliament holden in the Year 1627. and 1628. the King finding no Money to be gotten from Parliaments, which he was not to buy with the Blood of ſuch Servants and Miniſters as he loved beſt, abſtained a long time from calling any more, and had abſtained longer, if the Rebellion of the *Scotch* had not forced him to it. During that Parliament the King made Sir *Thomas Wentworth* a Baron, recommended to him for his great ability, which was generally taken notice of by the diſſervice he had done the King in former Parliaments, but which might be uſeful alſo for him in the times that came on; and not long after he made him of the Council, and after that again Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which Place he diſcharged with great

great ſatisfaction and benefit to his Majeſty, and continued in that Office, till by the Envy and Violence of the Lords and Commons of that unlucky Parliament of 1640. he dyed. In which Year he was made General of the King's Forces againſt the *Scots* that then entred into *England*, and the Year before Earl of *Strafford*. The Pacification being made, and the Forces on both ſides disbanded, and the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* now ſitting, it was not long before the Houſe of Commons accuſed him to the Houſe of Lords for High-Treaſon.

B. There was no great probability of his being a Traitor to the King, from whoſe favour he had received his Greatneſs, and from whoſe Protection he was to expect his ſafety. What was the Treaſon they laid to his charge?

A. Many Articles were drawn up againſt him, but the ſum of them was contained in theſe two. Firſt, That he had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Realm; and in ſtead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government againſt Law. Secondly, That he had laboured to ſubvert the Rights of Parliaments, and the ancient courſe of Parliamentary Proceedings.

B. Was this done by him without the knowledge of the King?

A. No.

A. No.

B. Why then, if it were Treaſon, did not the King himſelf call him in queſtion by his Attorney? What had the Houſe of Commons to do, without his Command, to accuſe him to the Houſe of Lords? They might have complained to the King, if he had not known it before. I underſtand not this Law.

A. Nor I.

B. Had this been by any former Statutes made Treaſon?

A. Not that I ever heard of; nor do I underſtand how any thing can be Treaſon againſt the King, that the King hearing and knowing does not think Treaſon. But it was a piece of that Parliaments Artifice to put the word Traiterouſly to any Article exhibited againſt any Man, whoſe Life they meant to take away.

B. Was there no particular inſtance of action, or words out of which they argued that endeavour of his to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of Parliament whereof they accuſed him?

A. Yes; they ſaid he gave the King counſel to reduce the Parliament to their Duty by the *Iriſh* Army, which not long before my Lord of *Strafford* himſelf had cauſed to be Levied there for the King's Service; but it was never proved againſt him, that

that he adviſed the King to uſe it againſt the Parliament.

B. What are thoſe Laws that are called fundamental? for I underſtand not how one Law can be more fundamental than another, except only that Law of Nature that binds us all to obey him, whoſoever he be, whom lawfully, and for our own ſafety we have promiſed to obey; nor any other fundamental Law to a King, but *Salus Populi*, the ſafety and well-being of his People.

A. This Parliament in the uſe of their words, when they accuſed any man, never regarded the ſignification of them, but the weight they had to aggravate their accuſation to the ignorant multitude, which think all faults hainous, that are expreſs'd in hainous terms, if they hate the Perſon accus'd, as they did this man; not only for being of the King's Party, but alſo for deſerting the Parliaments Party as an Apoſtate.

B. I pray you tell me alſo what they meant by Arbitrary Government, which they ſeemed ſo much to hate? Is there any Governour of a People in the World that is forced to govern them, or forced to make this and that Law, whether he will or no? I think not; or if any be, he that forces him does certainly make Laws, and govern arbitrarily.

A. That's

A. That's true; and the true meaning of the Parliament was, that not the King, but they themſelves ſhould have the Arbitrary Government, not only of *England*, but of *Ireland*, and (as it appeared by the event) of *Scotland* alſo.

B. How the King came by the Government of *Scotland* and *Ireland* by deſcent from his Anceſtors, every body can tell; but if the King of *England* and his Heirs ſhould chance (which God forbid) to fail, I cannot imagine what Title the Parliament of *England* can acquire thereby to either of thoſe Nations.

A. Yes; they'l ſay they had been conquer'd anciently by the *Engliſh* Subjects Money.

B. Like enough, and ſuitable to the reſt of their impudence.

A. Impudence in Democratical Aſſemblies does almoſt all that's done; 'tis the Goddeſs of Rhetorick, and carries proof with it: for what ordinary man will not from ſo great boldneſs of affirmation conclude, there is great probability in the thing affirmed. Upon this Accuſation he was brought to his Tryal in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, before the Houſe of Lords, and found guilty, and preſently after declared Traitor by a Bill of Attainder, that is, by Act of Parliament.

B. It is a ſtrange thing that the Lords ſhould be induced, upon ſo light grounds, to give a Sentence, or give their Aſſent to a Bill ſo prejudicial to themſelves and their Poſterity.

A. 'Twas not well done, and yet (as it ſeems) not ignorantly; for there is a Clauſe in the Bill, that it ſhould not be taken hereafter for an example, that is, for a prejudice in the like Caſe hereafter.

B. That's worſe than the Bill it ſelf, and is a plain Confeſſion that their Sentence was unjuſt: for what harm is there in the Examples of juſt Sentences? Beſides, if hereafter the like Caſe ſhould happen, the Sentence is not at all made weaker by ſuch a Proviſion.

A. Indeed I believe that the Lords, moſt of them, were not of themſelves willing to condemn him of Treaſon, they were awed to it by the clamor of Common People that came to *Weſtminſter*, crying out Juſtice, Juſtice againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; the which were cauſed to flock thither by ſome of the Houſe of Commons that were well aſſur'd, after the triumphant welcome of *Prin*, *Burton* and *Baſtwick*, to put the People into tumult, upon any occaſion they deſir'd. They were awed unto it partly alſo by the Houſe of Commons it ſelf, which if it deſir'd to undo a Lord, had no more to do, but to vote him a Delinquent.

B. A

B. A Delinquent; what's that? A Sinner is't not? Did they mean to undo all Sinners?

A. By Delinquent they meant only a Man to whom they would do all the hurt they could: but the Lords did not yet, I think, ſuſpect they meant to caſhiere their whole Houſe.

B. It's a ſtrange thing the whole Houſe of Lords ſhould not perceive, that the ruin of the King's Power, and the weakening of it was the ruin, or weakening of themſelves: for they could not think it likely, that the People ever meant to take the Sovereignty from the King to give it to them, who were few in number, and leſs in power than ſo many Commoners, becauſe leſs beloved by the People.

A. But it ſeems not ſo ſtrange to me; for the Lords for their perſonal abilities, as they were no leſs, ſo alſo they were no more skilful in the Publick Affairs, than the Knights and Burgeſſes: for there is no reaſon to think, that if one that is to day a Knight of the Shire in the Lower Houſe, be to morrow made a Lord, and a Member of the Higher Houſe, is therefore wiſer than he was before. They are all of both Houſes prudent and able Men as any in the Land, in the buſineſs of their private Eſtates, which require nothing but diligence and natural Wit

to govern them; but for the Government of a Common wealth, neither wit, nor prudence, nor diligence is enough without infallible Rules, and the true Science of Equity and Juſtice.

B. If this be true, it is impoſſible any Common-wealth in the World, whether Monarchy, Ariſtocratie or Democratie ſhould continue long without change, or Sedition tending to change, either of the Government or of the Governors.

A. 'Tis true; nor have any the greateſt Common-wealths in the World been long free from Sedition. The *Greeks* had for a while their petty Kings, and then by Sedition came to be petty Common-wealths, and then growing to be greater Common-wealths, by Sedition again became Monarchies, and all for want of Rules of Juſtice for the Common People to take notice of, which if the People had known in the beginning of every of theſe Seditions, the Ambitious Perſons could never had the hope to diſturb their Government, after it had been once ſetled; for Ambition can do little without hands, and few hands it would have, if the Common People were as diligently inſtructed in the true Principles of their Duty, as they are terrified and amazed by Preachers with fruitleſs and dangerous Doctrines concerning the Nature of Man's

Man's Will, and many other Philoſophical Points that tend not at all to the ſalvation of the Soul in the World to come, nor to their eaſe in this life, but only to the direction towards the Clergy of that Duty which they ought to perform to the King.

B. For ought I ſee all the States of Chriſtendome will be ſubject to theſe fits of Rebellion, as long as the World laſteth.

A. Like enough, and yet the fault (as I have ſaid) may be eaſily mended, by mending the Univerſities.

B. How long had the Parliament now ſitten?

A. It began *November* the third 1640. My Lord of *Strafford* was impeached of Treaſon before the Lords *November* the 12*th*, ſent to the *Tower November* the 22*d*, his Tryal began *March* the 22*d*, and ended *April* the 13*th*. After his Tryal he was voted guilty of High Treaſon in the Houſe of Commons, and after that in the Houſe of Lords *May* the 6*th*, and on the 12*th* of *May* beheaded.

B. Great Expedition; but could not the King for all that have ſaved him by a Pardon?

A. The King had heard all that paſſed at his Tryal, and had declared he was unſatisfied concerning the Juſtice of their Sentence, and (I think) notwithſtanding the

danger of his own Perſon from the fury of the People, and that he was counſel'd to give way to his Execution, not only by ſuch as he moſt relied on, but alſo by the Earl of *Strafford* himſelf, he would have pardoned him, if that could have preſerved him againſt the Tumult raiſed and countenanced by the Parliament it ſelf, for the terrifying of thoſe they thought might favour him: and yet the King himſelf did not ſtick to confeſs afterwards, that he had done amiſs in that he did not reſcue him.

B. 'Twas an Argument of good Diſpoſition in the King; but I never read that *Auguſtus Cæſar* acknowledged that he had done a fault in abandoning *Cicero* to the fury of his Enemy *Antonius*. Perhaps becauſe *Cicero* having been of the contrary Faction to his Father, had done *Auguſtus* no ſervice at all out of favour to him, but only out of enmity to *Antonius*, and out of love to the Senate, that is indeed out of love to himſelf that ſwayed the Senate; as it is very likely the Earl of *Strafford* came over to the King's Party for his own ends, having been ſo much againſt the King in former Parliaments.

A. We cannot ſafely judge of mens Intentions; but I have obſerved often, that ſuch as ſeek preferment by their ſtubbornneſs, have miſs'd of their aim; and on the other

other ſide, that thoſe Princes, that with preferment are forced to buy the obedience of their Subjects, are already, or muſt be ſoon after in a very weak condition: for in a Market where Honour and Power is to be bought with ſtubbornneſs, there will be a great many as able to buy, as my Lord *Strafford* was.

B. You have read, that when *Hercules* fighting with the *Hydra* had cut off any one of his many heads, there ſtill aroſe two other heads in its place, and yet at laſt he cut them off all.

A. The Story is told falſe: for *Hercules* at firſt did not cut off thoſe heads, but bought them off, and afterwards, when he ſaw it did him no good, then he cut them off, and got the Victory.

B. What did they next?

A. After the firſt Impeachment of the Earl of *Strafford*, the Houſe of Commons upon *December* the 18*th* accuſed the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* alſo of High Treaſon, that is, of Deſign to introduce Arbitrary Government, *&c.* for which he was *February* the 18*th* ſent to the *Tower*, but his Trial and Execution were deferr'd a long time till *January* the 10*th* 1643. for the Entertainment of the *Scots*, that were come into *England* to aid the Parliament.

B. Why did the *Scots* think there was ſo much danger in the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury?* He was not a Man of War, nor a Man able to bring an Army into the Field; but he was perhaps a very great Politician.

A. That did not appear by any remarkable event of his Counſels. I never heard but he was a very honeſt man for his Morals, and a very zealous promoter of the Church-Government by Biſhops, and that deſired to have the Service of God performed, and the Houſe of God adorned, as ſuitably as was poſſible to the Honour we ought to do to the Divine Majeſty. But to bring, as he did, into the State his former Controverſies, I mean his ſquablings in the Univerſity about Free-will, and his ſtanding upon Punctilio's, concerning the Service-Book and its Rubricks, was not (in my opinion) an Argument of his ſufficiency in Affairs of State. About the ſame time they paſſed an Act (which the King conſented to) for a Triennial Parliament, wherein was Enacted, That after the preſent Parliament there ſhould be a Parliament called by the King within the ſpace of three years, and ſo from three years to three years, to meet at *Weſtminſter* upon a certain day named in the Act.

B. But what if the King did not call it, finding it perhaps inconvenient, or hurtful

to

to the ſafety or peace of his People, which God hath put into his charge? For I do not well comprehend how any Sovereign can well keep a People in order when his Hands are tied, or when he hath any other obligation upon him, than the benefit of thoſe he governs; and at this time, for any thing you have told me, they acknowledged the King for their Sovereign.

A. I know not; but ſuch was the Act. And it was farther Enacted, That if the King did it not by his own Command, then the Lord Chancellor or the Lord Keeper for the time being, ſhould ſend out the Writs of Summons; and if the Chancellor refuſed, then the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Counties ſhould, of themſelves, in their next County-Courts, before the day ſet down for the Parliaments meeting, proceed to the Election of the Members for the ſaid Parliament.

B. But what if the Sheriffs refus'd?

A. I think they were to be ſworn to it: but for that, and other particulars, I refer you to the Act.

B. To whom ſhould they be ſworn, when there is no Parliament?

A. No doubt but to the King, whether there be a Parliament ſitting or no.

B. Then the King may releaſe them of their Oath.

A. Be-

A. Beſides, they obtained of the King the putting down the Star-Chamber, and the High-Commiſſion-Courts.

B. Beſides, if the King upon the refuſal ſhould fall upon them in anger; who ſhall (the Parliament not ſitting) protect either the Chancellor or the Sheriffs in their diſobedience.

A. I pray you do not ask me any reaſon of ſuch things I underſtand no better than you. I tell you only an Act paſſed to that purpoſe, and was ſigned by the King in the middle of *February*, a little before the Archbiſhop was ſent to the *Tower*. Beſides this Bill, the two Houſes of Parliament agreed upon another, wherein it was Enacted, That the preſent Parliament ſhould continue till both the Houſes did conſent to the Diſſolution of it; which Bill alſo the King ſigned the ſame day he ſigned the Warrant for the Execution of the Earl of *Strafford*.

B. What a great Progreſs made the Parliament towards the ends of the moſt ſeditious Members of both Houſes in ſo little time? They ſate down in *November*, and now it was *May*, in this ſpace of time, which is but half a year, they won from the King the adherence which was due to him from his People; they drave his faithfuleſt Servants from him; beheaded the Earl of *Strafford*; impriſon'd the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*;

bury; obtain'd a Triennial Parliament after their own Diſſolution, and a continuance of their own ſitting, as long as they liſted; which laſt amounted to a total Extinction of the King's Right, in caſe that ſuch a Grant were valid, which I think it is not, unleſs the Sovereignty it ſelf be in plain terms renounced, which it was not. But what Money by way of Subſidy, or otherwiſe, did they grant the King in recompence of all theſe his large Conceſſions?

A. None at all; but often promiſed they would make him the moſt glorious King that ever was in *England*; which were words that paſſed well enough for well meaning with the Common People.

B. But the Parliament was contented now: for I cannot imagine what they ſhould deſire more from the King, than he had now granted them.

A. Yes; they deſir'd the whole and abſolute Sovereignty, and to change the Monarchical Government into an Oligarchie, that is to ſay, to make the Parliament, conſiſting of a few Lords, and about 400 Commoners, abſolute in the Sovereignty, for the preſent, and ſhortly after to lay the Houſe of Lords aſide: for this was the Deſign of the Presbyterian Miniſters, who taking themſelves to be by Divine Right the only lawful Governors of the Church, endea-

endeavoured to bring the ſame form of Government into the Civil State. And as the Spiritual Laws were to be made by their Synods, ſo the Civil Laws ſhould be made by the Houſe of Commons, who as they thought would no leſs be ruled by them afterwards, than they formerly had been, wherein they were deceived, and found themſelves outgone by their own Diſciples, though not in Malice, yet in Wit.

B. What followed after this?

A. In *Auguſt* following, the King ſuppoſing he had now ſufficiently obliged the Parliament to proceed no farther againſt him, took a Journey into *Scotland* to ſatisfie his Subjects there, as he had done here, intending perhaps ſo to gain their good Wills, that in caſe the Parliament here ſhould Levy Arms againſt him, they ſhould not be aided by the *Scots*; wherein he alſo was deceiv'd; for though they ſeemed ſatisfied with what he did, (whereof one thing was his giving way to the abolition of Epiſcopacy) yet afterwards they made a League with the Parliament, and for Money (when the King began to have the better of the Parliament) invaded *England* in the Parliaments quarrel, but this was a year or two after.

B. Before you go any farther, I deſire to know the Ground and Original of that Right, which either the Houſe of Lords, or

or Houſe of Commons, or both together, now pretend to.

A. It is a Queſtion of things ſo long paſt, that they are now forgotten. Nor have we any thing to conjecture by, but the Records of our own Nation, and ſome ſmall and obſcure fragments of *Roman* Hiſtories: And for the Records, ſeeing they are of things done only, ſometimes juſtly, ſometimes unjuſtly, you can never by them know what Right they had, but only what Right they pretended.

B. Howſoever let me know what light we have in this matter from the *Roman* Hiſtories.

A. It would be too long, and an uſeleſs digreſſion to cite all the Ancient Authors that ſpeak of the forms of thoſe Commonwealths, which were amongſt our firſt Anceſtors the *Saxons*, and other *Germans*, and of other Nations, from whom we derive the Titles of Honour now in uſe in *England*; nor will it be poſſible to derive from them any Argument of Right, but only Examples of Fact, which by the Ambition of potent Subjects have been oftner unjuſt, than otherwiſe. And for thoſe *Saxons* or *Angles*, that in Ancient times by ſeveral Invaſions made themſelves Maſters of this Nation; they were not in themſelves one Body of a Common-wealth, but only a League of divers

vers petty *German* Lords and States, such as was the *Grecian* Army in the *Trojan* War, without other obligation, than that which proceeded from their own fear and weakness. Nor were those Lords, for the most part the Sovereigns at home in their own Country, but chosen by the People for the Captains of the Forces they brought with them. And therefore it was not without Equity, when they had conquered any part of the Land, and made some one of them King thereof, that the rest should have greater priviledges than the Common People and Soldiers, amongst which priviledges a man may easily conjecture this to be one; That they should be made acquainted, and be of Councel with him that hath the Sovereignty in matter of Government, and have the greatest and most honourable Offices, both in Peace and War. But because there can be no Government where there is more than one Sovereign, it cannot be inferr'd, that they had a Right to oppose the King's Resolutions by force, nor to enjoy those Honours and Places longer than they should continue good Subjects. And we find that the Kings of *England* did, upon every great occasion, call them together, by the name of discreet and wise Men of the Kingdom, and hear their Counsel, and make them Judges of all Causes that, during their sitting,

ting, were brought before them. But as he ſummon'd them at his own pleaſure, ſo had he alſo ever the power at his pleaſure to diſſolve them. The *Normans* alſo that deſcended from the *Germans*, as we did, had the ſame Cuſtoms in this particular; and by this means this priviledge of the Lords to be of the King's Great Councel, and when they were aſſembled to be the Higheſt of the King's Courts of Juſtice, continued ſtill after the Conqueſt to this day. But though there be amongſt the Lords divers Names or Titles of Honour, yet they have their Priviledge by the only Name of Baron, a Name receiv'd from the Ancient *Gaules*, amongſt whom that Name ſignified the King's Man, or rather one of his Great Men: By which it ſeems to me, that though they gave him Counſel, when he requir'd it, yet they had no Right to make War upon him, if he did not follow it.

B. When began firſt the Houſe of Commons to be part of the King's Great Councel?

A. I do not doubt but that before the Conqueſt ſome diſcreet Men, and known to be ſo by the King, were called by ſpecial Writ to be of the ſame Councel, though they were not Lords; but that is nothing to the Houſe of Commons: The Knights of Shires and Burgeſſes were never called to Par-

Parliament for ought that I know, till the beginning of the Reign of *Edward* the firſt, or the latter end of the Reign of *Henry* the third, immediately after the misbehaviour of the Barons; and for ought any man knows were called on purpoſe to weaken that Power of the Lords, which they had ſo freſhly abuſed. Before the time of *Henry* the third the Lords were deſcended moſt of them from ſuch as in the Invaſions and Conqueſts of the *Germans* were Peers and Fellow-Kings, till one was made King of them all; and their Tenants were their Subjects, as it is at this day with the Lords of *France*: but after the time of *Henry* the third, the Kings began to make Lords in the place of them whoſe Iſſue failed, Titulary only, without the Lands belonging to their Title; and by that means their Tenants being no longer bound to ſerve them in the Wars, they grew every day leſs and leſs able to make a Party againſt the King, though they continued ſtill to be his Great Councel. And as their Power decreaſed, ſo the Power of the Houſe of Commons increaſed; but I do not find they were part of the King's Councel at all, nor Judges over other men; though it cannot be denied, but a King may ask their advice, as well as the advice of any other; but I do not find that the end of their ſummoning was to give advice,

vice, but only in caſe they had any Petitions for redreſs of Grievances, to be ready there with them, whilſt the King had his Great Councel about him.

But neither they nor the Lords could preſent to the King as a Grievance; That the King took upon him to make the Laws; To chooſe his own Privy-Councellors; To raiſe Money and Soldiers; To defend the Peace and Honour of the Kingdom; To make Captains in his Army; To make Governours of his Caſtles, whom he pleaſed; for this had been to tell the King, that it was one of their Grievances that he was King.

B. What did the Parliament do whilſt the King was in *Scotland*?

A. The King went in *Auguſt*, after which the Parliament *September* the 8*th* adjourned, till the 20*th* of *October*, and the King return'd about the end of *November* following, in which time the moſt ſeditious of both Houſes, and which had deſign'd the change of Government, and to caſt off Monarchy, (but yet had not wit enough to ſet up any other Government in its place, and conſequently left it to the chance of War) made a Cabal amongſt themſelves, in which they projected how by ſeconding one another to govern the Houſe of Commons, and invented how to put the Kingdom, by the

power of that Houſe, into a Rebellion, which they then called a poſture of Defence againſt ſuch dangers from abroad as they themſelves ſhould feign and publiſh. Beſides, whilſt the King was in *Scotland*, the *Iriſh* Papiſts got together a great Party, with an intention to Maſſacre the Proteſtants there, and had laid a Deſign for the ſeizing of *Dublin* Caſtle in *October* the 20*th*, where the King's Officers of the Government of that Countrey made their Reſidence, and had effected it, had it not been diſcovered the night before. The manner of the Diſcovery, and the Murders they committed in the Country afterwards, I need not tell you, ſince the whole Story of it is extant.

B. I wonder they did not expect and provide for a Rebellion in *Ireland*, as ſoon as they began to quarrel with the King in *England*: for was there any body ſo ignorant, as not to know, that the *Iriſh* Papiſts did long for a change of Religion there, as well as the Presbyterians in *England*? Or that in general the *Iriſh* Nation did hate the name of Subjection to *England*? Or would longer be quiet than they feared an Army out of *England* to chaſtiſe them? What better time then could they take for their Rebellion than this, wherein they were encouraged, not only by our weakneſs, cauſed by

by this diviſion between the King and his Parliament, but alſo by the Example of the Presbyterians, both of the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Nation? But what did the Parliament do upon this occaſion in the King's abſence?

A. Nothing but conſider what uſe they might make of it to their own ends, partly by imputing it to the King's evil Counſellors, and partly by occaſion thereof to demand of the King the power of preſſing and ordering of Soldiers; which power whoſoever has, has alſo, without doubt, the whole Sovereignty.

B. When came the King back?

A. He came back the 25*th* of *November*, and was welcomed with the Acclamations of the Common People, as much, as if he had been the moſt beloved of all the Kings that were before him, but found not a Reception by the Parliament anſwerable to it. They preſently began to pick new quarrels againſt him out of every thing he ſaid to them. *December* the ſecond the King called together both Houſes of Parliament, and then did only recommend unto them the raiſing of Succors for *Ireland*.

B. What quarrel could they pick out of that?

A. None: but in order thereto, as they may pretend, they had a Bill in agitation to

assert the Power of Levying and Pressing Soldiers to the two Houses of the Lords and Commons; which was as much as to take from the King the Power of the Militia, which is in effect the whole Sovereign Power: for he that hath the power of Levying and Commanding of the Soldiers, has all other Rights of Sovereignty, which he shall please to claim. The King hearing of it called the Houses of Parliament together again, on *December* the 14*th*, and then pressed again the business of *Ireland*, (as there was need; for all this while the *Irish* were murdering of the *English* in *Ireland*, and strengthening themselves against the Forces they expected to come out of *England*) and withal told them, he took notice of the Bill in agitation for pressing of Soldiers, and that he was contented it should pass with a *Salvo Jure* both for him and them, because the present time was unseasonable to dispute it in.

B. What was there unreasonable in this?

A. Nothing. What's unreasonable is one question, what they quarrel'd at is another. They quarrel'd at this; That his Majesty took notice of the Bill, while it was in debate in the House of Lords, before it was presented to him in the course of Parliament, and also that he shewed himself displeas'd with those that propounded the said Bill:

Bill: both which they declared to be againſt the Priviledges of Parliament, and petitioned the King to give them reparation againſt thoſe by whoſe evil Counſel he was induced to it, that they might receive condign puniſhment.

B. This was cruel proceeding. Do not the Kings of *England* uſe to ſit in the Lords Houſe when they pleaſe? And was not this Bill in debate then in the Houſe of Lords? It is a ſtrange thing that a Man ſhould be lawfully in the company of Men, where he muſt needs hear and ſee what they ſay and do; and yet muſt not take notice of it, ſo much as to the ſame company: for though the King was not preſent at the Debate it ſelf, yet it was lawful for any of the Lords to make him acquainted with it. Any one of the Houſe of Commons, though not preſent at a Propoſition, or Debate in the Houſe, nevertheleſs hearing of it from ſome of his Fellow-Members, may certainly, not only take notice of it, but alſo ſpeak to it in the Houſe of Commons: but to make the King give up his Friends and Councellors to them, to be put to death, baniſhment or impriſonment for their good will to him, was ſuch a Tyranny over a King, no King ever exerciſed over any Subject, but in Caſes of Treaſon or Murder, and ſeldom then.

A. Presently hereupon began a kind of War between the Pens of the Parliament and those of the Secretaries, and other able men that were with the King: For upon the 15*th* of *December* they sent to the King a Paper called *A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, and with it a Petition, both which they caused to be published. In the Remonstrance they complained of certain mischievous Designs of a Malignant Party then, before the beginning of the Parliament, grown ripe; and did set forth what means had been used for the preventing of it by the wisdom of the Parliament, what rubs they had found therein, what course was fit to be taken for restoring and establishing the Ancient Honour, Greatness and Safety of the Crown and Nation.

1*st*. And of these Designs the Promoters and Actors were, they said, Jesuited Papists.

2*ly*. The Bishops and that part of the Clergy that cherish formality as a support of their own Ecclesiastical Tyranny and Usurpation.

3*ly*. Councellors and Courtiers, that for private ends (they said) had engaged themselves to farther the Interests of some Forreign Princes.

B. It may very well be that some of the Bishops, and also some of the Court, may have,

have, in purſuit of their private Intereſt, done ſomething indiſcreetly, and perhaps wickedly; therefore I pray you tell me in particular what their crimes were: for methinks the King ſhould not have conniv'd at any thing againſt his own Supream Authority.

A. The Parliament were not very keen againſt them that were againſt the King; they made no doubt but all they did was by the King's Command, but accus'd thereof the Biſhops, Councellors and Courtiers, as being a more mannerly way of accuſing the King himſelf, and defaming him to his Subjects: For the truth is, the Charge they brought againſt them was ſo general as not to be called an Accuſation, but Railing. As firſt, they ſaid they nouriſhed Queſtions of Prerogative and Liberty between the King and his People, to the end that ſeeming much addicted to his Majeſties Service, they might get themſelves into Places of greateſt Truſt and Power in the Kingdom.

B. How could this be called an Accuſation in which there is no Fact for any Accuſers to apply their Proofs to, or their Witneſſes: for granting that theſe Queſtions of Prerogative had been moved by them, who can prove that their end was to gain to themſelves and Friends the Places of Truſt and Power in the Kingdom?

A. A ſecond Accuſation was, That they endeavoured to ſuppreſs the purity and power of Religion.

B. That's Canting; it is not in man's power to ſuppreſs the power of Religion.

A. They meant that they ſuppreſs the Doctrine of the Presbyterians, that is to ſay, the very foundation of the then Parliaments treacherous pretenſions.

A third; That they cheriſhed Arminians, Papiſts, and Libertines, (by which they meant the common Proteſtants, which meddle not with Diſputes) to the end they might compoſe a Body fit to act according to their Counſels and Reſolutions.

A Fourth; That they endeavoured to put the King upon other courſes of raiſing Money, than by the ordinary way of Parliaments: Judge whether theſe may be properly called Accuſations, or not rather ſpiteful Reproaches of the King's Government.

B. Methinks this laſt was a very great fault; for what good could there be in putting the King upon an odd courſe of getting Money, when the Parliament was willing to ſupply him as far as to the ſecurity of the Kingdom, or to the Honour of the King ſhould be neceſſary?

A. But I told you before they would give him none, but with a condition he ſhould cut off the Heads of whom they pleas'd, how faith-

faithfully ſoever they had ſerv'd him: and if he would have ſacrificed all his Friends to their Ambition, yet they would have found other excuſes for denying him Subſidies: for they were reſolv'd to take from him the Sovereign Power to themſelves, which they could never do without taking great care that he ſhould have no Money at all. In the next place they put into the Remonſtrance as faults of them whoſe Counſel the King followed, all thoſe things which ſince the beginning of the King's Reign were by them miſliked, whether faults or not, and whereof they were not able to judge for want of knowledge of the Cauſes and Motives that induced the King to do them, and were known only to the King himſelf, and ſuch of his Privy-Council as he revealed them to.

B. But what were thoſe particular pretended faults?

A. 1. The Diſſolution of his firſt Parliament at *Oxford.* 2. The Diſſolution of his ſecond Parliament, being in the ſecond year of his Reign. 3. The Diſſolution of his Parliament in the fourth year of his Reign. 4. The fruitleſs Expedition againſt *Cales.* 5. The Peace made with *Spain,* whereby the Palatines Cauſe was deſerted, and left to chargeable and hopeleſs Treaties. 6. The ſending of Commiſſions to raiſe Money

Money by way of Loan. 7. Raiſing of Ship-Money. 8. Enlargement of Forreſts contrary to *Magna Charta*. 9. The Deſign of engroſſing all the Gunpowder into one hand, and keeping it in the Tower of *London*. 10. A Deſign to bring in the uſe of Braſs Money. 11. The Fines, Impriſonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements and Baniſhments by Sentence in the Court of Star-Chamber. 12. The diſplacing of Judges. 13. Illegal Acts of the Council-Table. 14. The Arbitrary and Illegal Power of the Earl Marſhal's Court. 15. The abuſes in Chancery, Exchequer Chamber, and Court of Wards. 16. The ſelling of Titles of Honour of Judges and Serjeants Places, and other Offices. 17. The Inſolence of Biſhops and other Clerks in Suſpenſions, Excommunications, Deprivations and Degradations of divers painful, and learned, and pious Miniſters.

B. Were there any ſuch Miniſters degraded, deprived, or excommunicated?

A. I cannot tell; but I remember I have heard threatned divers painful, unlearned and ſeditious Miniſters. 18. The Exceſs of ſeverity of the High-Commiſſion Court. 19. The Preaching before the King againſt the Property of the Subject, and for the Prerogative of the King above the Law, and

divers

divers other petty quarrels they had to the Government, which though they were laid upon this Faction, yet they knew they would fall upon the King himself in the Judgment of the People, to whom by printing it was communicated.

Again, after the Dissolution of the Parliament *May* the *5th* 1640. they find other faults, as the Dissolution it self; The Imprisoning some Members of both Houses; A forced Loan of Money attempted in *London*; The Continuance of the Convocation, when the Parliament was ended, and the favour shewed to Papists by Secretary *Windebank*, and others.

B. All this will go current with common People for misgovernment, and for faults of the King's, though some of them were misfortunes, and both the misfortunes and the misgovernment (if any were) were the faults of the Parliament, who by denying to give him Money, did both frustrate his Attempts abroad, and put him upon those extraordinary ways (which they call Illegal) of raising Money at home.

A. You see what a heap of evils they have raised to make a shew of ill government to the People, which they second with an enumeration of the many Services they have done the King in overcoming a great many of them, though not all, and in divers

vers other things; and ſay, that though they had contracted a Debt to the *Scots* of 22000 *l.* and granted ſix Subſidies, and a Bill of Pole-Money worth ſix Subſidies more, yet that God had ſo bleſſed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdom was a gainer by it: and then follows the Catalogue of thoſe good things they had done for the King and Kingdom. For the Kingdom they had done (they ſaid) theſe things. They had aboliſhed Ship-Money; They had taken away Coat and Conduct-Money, and other Military Charges, which they ſaid amounted to little leſs than the Ship-Money. That they ſuppreſs'd all Monopolies, which they reckoned above a Million yearly ſaved by the Subject. That they had quelled living Grievances, meaning evil Counſellors and Actors, by the death of my Lord of *Strafford*, by the flight of the Chancellor *Finch*, and of Secretary *Windebank*, by the Impriſonment of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and of Judge *Bartlet*, and the Impeachment of other Biſhops and Judges. That they had paſs'd a Bill for a Triennial Parliament, and another for the Continuance of the preſent Parliament, till they ſhould think fit to diſſolve themſelves.

B. That is to ſay for ever if they be ſuffered. But the ſum of all theſe things which they

they had done for the Kingdom is, that they had left it without Government, without Strength, without Money, without Law, and without good Councel.

A. They reckoned alſo putting down of the High-Commiſſion, and the abating of the power of the Council-Table, and of the Biſhops and their Courts; The taking away of unneceſſary Ceremonies in Religion; Removing of Miniſters from their Livings, that were not of their Faction, and putting in ſuch as were.

B. All this was but their own, and not the Kingdoms Buſineſs.

A. The good they had done the King was firſt (they ſaid) The giving of 25000 *l.* a month for the relief of the Northern Counties.

B. What need of relief had the Northern more than the reſt of the Counties of *England?*

A, Yes; in the Northern Counties were quartered the *Scotch* Army, which the Parliament called in to oppoſe the King, and conſequently their Quarter was to be diſcharged.

B. True; but by the Parliament that call'd them in.

A. But they ſay no; and that this Money was given to the King, becauſe he is bound to protect his Subjects.

B. He

B. He is no farther bound to that, than they to give him Money wherewithal to do it. This is very great impudence to raiſe an Army againſt the King, and with that Army to oppreſs their Fellow-Subjects, and then require that the King ſhould relieve them; that is to ſay, be at the charge of paying the Army that was raiſed to fight againſt him.

A. Nay farther; They put to the King's Account the 300000 *l.* given to the *Scots*, without which they would not have invaded *England*; beſides many other things that I now remember not.

B. I did not think there had been ſo great impudence and villany in mankind.

A. You have not obſerv'd the World long enough to ſee all that's ill. Such was their Remonſtrance, as I have told you: With it they ſent a Petition containing three Points. 1. That his Majeſty would deprive the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, and remove ſuch Oppreſſions in Religion, Church Government and Diſcipline, as they had brought in. 2. That he would remove from his Council all ſuch as ſhould promote the Peoples Grievances, and employ in his Great and Publick Affairs ſuch as the Parliament ſhould confide in. 3. That he would not give away the Lands Eſcheated to the Crown by the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

B. This

B. This laſt Point, methinks, was not wiſely put in at this time, it ſhould have been reſerv'd, till they had ſubdued the Rebels, againſt whom there were yet no Forces ſent over. 'Tis like ſelling the Lyons Skin before they had kill'd him. But what anſwer was made to the other two Propoſitions?

A. What anſwer ſhould be made but a Denial? About the ſame time the King himſelf exhibited Articles againſt ſix Perſons of the Parliament, five whereof were of the Houſe of Commons, and one of the Houſe of Lords, accuſing them of High Treaſon, and upon the *4th* of *January* went himſelf to the Houſe of Commons to demand thoſe five of them: but private notice having been given by ſome Treacherous Perſon about the King, they had abſented themſelves; and by that means fruſtrated his Majeſties Intentions; and after he was gone, the Houſe making a hainous matter of it, and a high breach of their Priviledges, adjourned themſelves into *London*, there to ſit as a General Committee, pretending they were not ſafe at *Weſtminſter*, for the King, when he went to the Houſe to demand thoſe Perſons, had ſomewhat more attendance with him (but not otherwiſe armed than his Servants uſed to be) than he ordinarily had: and would not be pacified, though the King did after-

afterward wave the profecution of thoſe perſons, unleſs he would alſo diſcover to them thoſe that gave him Counſel to go in that manner to the Parliament Houſe, to the end they might receive condign puniſhment, which was the word they uſed in ſtead of cruelty.

B. This was a harſh demand. Was it not enough that the King ſhould forbear his Enemies, but alſo that he muſt betray his Friends? If they thus tyrannize over the King, before they have gotten the Sovereign Power into their hands; how will they tyrannize over their Fellow-Subjects, when they have gotten it?

A. So as they did.

B. How long ſtaid that Committee in *London*?

A. Not above two or three days, and then were brought from *London* to the Parliament Houſe by Water, in great triumph, guarded with a tumultuous number of Armed Men, there to ſit in ſecurity in deſpite of the King, and make traiterous Acts againſt him, ſuch, and as many as they liſted, and under favour of theſe tumults to frighten away from the Houſe of Peers all ſuch as were not of their own Faction. For at this time the Rabble was ſo inſolent, that ſcarce any of the Biſhops durſt go to the Houſe, for fear of violence upon their perſons:

ſons: in ſo much as twelve of them excuſed themſelves of coming thither; and by way of Petition to the King remonſtrated, That they were not permitted to go quietly to the performance of that Duty, and proteſting againſt all Determinations, as of none effect, that ſhould paſs in the Houſe of Lords during their forced abſence; which the Houſe of Commons taking hold of, ſent up to the Peers one of their Members to accuſe them of High Treaſon; whereupon ten of them were ſent to the *Tower*, after which time there were no more words of their High Treaſon; but there paſſed a Bill by which they were deprived of their Votes in Parliament, and to this Bill they got the Kings Aſſent: and in the beginning of *September* after, they voted that the Biſhops ſhould have no more to do in the Government of the Church, but to this they had not the King's Aſſent, the War being now begun.

B. What made the Parliament ſo averſe to Epiſcopacy, and eſpecially the Houſe of Lords, whereof the Biſhops were Members? for I ſee no reaſon why they ſhould do it to gratifie a number of poor Pariſh Prieſts, that were Presbyterians, and that were never likely any way to ſerve the Lords, but on the contrary to do their beſt to pull down their power, and ſubject them to their Synods and Claſſes.

A. For the Lords very few of them did perceive the intention of the Presbyterians, and beſides that, they durſt not (I believe) oppoſe the Lower Houſe.

B. But why were the Lower Houſe ſo earneſt againſt them?

A. Becauſe they meant to make uſe of their Tenents, and with pretended Sanctity to make the King and his Party odious to the People, by whoſe help they were to ſet up Democracy, and depoſe the King, or to let him have the Title only ſo long as he ſhould act for their purpoſes: but not only the Parliament, but in a manner all the People of *England* were their Enemies upon the account of their behaviour, as being (they ſaid) too imperious. This was all that was colourably laid to their charge; the main cauſe of pulling them down was the envy of the Presbyterians that incenſed the People againſt them, and againſt Epiſcopacy it ſelf.

B. How would the Presbyterians have the Church to be governed?

A. By National and Provincial Synods.

B. Is not this to make the National Aſſembly an Arch-biſhop, and the Provincial Aſſemblies ſo many Biſhops?

A. Yes; but every Miniſter ſhall have the delight of ſharing the Government, and conſequently of being able to be revenged on

on them that do not admire their Learning, and help to fill their Purſes, and win to their Service them that do.

B. 'Tis a hard Caſe, that there ſhould be two Factions to trouble the Commonwealth, without any Intereſt in it of their own, other than every particular man may have, and that their quarrels ſhould be only about Opinions, that is, about who has the moſt Learning, as if their Learning ought to be the Rule of governing all the World. What is it they are learned in? Is it Politicks and Rules of State? I know it is called Divinity, but I hear almoſt nothing preach'd but matter of Philoſophy. For Religion in it ſelf admits no controverſie. 'Tis a Law of the Kingdom, and ought not to be diſputed. I do not think they pretend to ſpeak with God and know his Will by any other way than reading the Scriptures, which we alſo do.

A. Yes; ſome of them do, and give themſelves out for Prophets by extraordinary Inſpiration; but the reſt pretend only (for their Advancement to Benefices and Charge of Souls) a greater skill in the Scriptures than other men have, by reaſon of their breeding in the Univerſities, and knowledge there gotten of the Latin Tongue, and ſome alſo of the Greek and Hebrew Tongues, wherein the Scripture was written;

ten; beſides their knowledge of Natural Philoſophy, which is there publickly taught.

B. As for the Latin, Greek and Hebrew Tongues, it was once (to the Detection of *Roman* fraud, and to the ejection of the *Romiſh* Power) very profitable, or rather neceſſary; but now that's done, and we have the Scripture in *Engliſh*, and preaching in *Engliſh*, I ſee no great need of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. I ſhould think my ſelf better qualified by underſtanding well the Languages of our Neighbours, *French*, *Dutch* and *Italian*. I think it was never ſeen in the World before the power of Popes was ſet up, that Philoſophy was much conducing to Power in a Common-wealth.

A. But Philoſophy, together with Divinity, have very much conduced to the advancement of the Profeſſors thereof to Places of the greateſt Authority, next to the Authority of Kings themſelves, in moſt of the ancient Kingdoms of the World, as is manifeſtly to be ſeen in the Hiſtory of thoſe times.

B. I pray you cite me ſome of the Authors and Places.

A. Firſt, what were the *Druids* of old time in *Britany* and *France*? What Authority theſe had you may ſee in *Cæſar*, *Strabo* and others, and eſpecially in *Diodorus Siculus*, the greateſt Antiquary perhaps that ever

ever was, who ſpeaking of the *Druids* (which he calls *Sarovides*) in *France*, ſays thus. There be alſo amongſt them certain Philoſophers and Theologians, that are exceedingly honoured, whom they alſo uſe as Prophets; theſe Men by their skill in Augury, and Inſpection into the Bowels of Beaſts ſacrificed, foretel what is to come, and have the Multitude obedient to them. And a little after; It is a Cuſtom amongſt them, that no man may ſacrifice without a Philoſopher; becauſe (ſay they) men ought not to preſent their thanks to the Gods, but by them that know the Divine Nature, and are as it were of the ſame Language with them, and that all good things ought by ſuch as theſe to be prayed for.

B. I can hardly believe that thoſe *Druids* were very skilful, either in Natural Philoſophy or Moral.

A. Nor I; for they held and taught the Tranſmigration of Souls from one Body to another, as did *Pythagoras*; which Opinion, whether they took from him, or he from them, I cannot tell.

What were the *Magi* in *Perſia*, but Philoſophers and Aſtrologers? You know how they came to find our Saviour by the conduct of a Star, either from *Perſia* it ſelf, or from ſome Countrey more Eaſtward than *Judea*. Were not theſe in great Authority

in their Countrey? And are they not in moſt part of Chriſtendome thought to have been Kings?

Ægypt hath been thought by many the moſt ancient Kingdom and Nation of the World, and their Prieſts had the greateſt power in Civil Affairs, that any Subjects ever had in any Nation. And what were they but Philoſophers and Divines? concerning whom the ſame *Diodorus Siculus* ſays thus. The whole Countrey (of *Ægypt*) being divided into three parts, the Body of the Prieſts have one, as being of moſt credit with the People, both for their Devotion towards the Gods, and alſo for their underſtanding gotten by Education; and preſently after: for generally theſe men in the greateſt Affairs of all, are the King's Councellors, partly executing, and partly informing and adviſing; foretelling him alſo (by their skill in Aſtrology, and Art in the Inſpection of Sacrifices) the things that are to come, and reading to him out of their Holy Books, ſuch of the Actions there recorded, as are profitable for him to know. 'Tis not there as in *Greece*, one man or one woman that has the Prieſthood, but they are many that attend the Honours and Sacrifices of the Gods, and leave the ſame employment to their poſterity, which next to the King hath the greateſt Power and Authority. Con-

Concerning the Judicature amongſt the *Ægyptians*, he ſaith thus: from out of the moſt eminent Cities *Hieropolis*, *Thebes* and *Memphis* they chooſe Judges, which are a Councel not inferior to that of *Areopagus* in *Athens*, or that of the Senate in *Lacedæmon*. When they are met, being in number 30, they chooſe one from amongſt themſelves to be Chief Juſtice, and the City, whereof he is, ſendeth another in his place. This Chief Juſtice wore about his Neck hung in a Gold Chain, a Jewel of pretious Stones, the name of which Jewel was Truth, which when the Chief Juſtice had put on, then began the Pleading, *&c.* and when the Judges had agreed on the Sentence, then did the Chief Juſtice put this Jewel of Truth to one of the Pleas. You ſee now what power was acquir'd in Civil matters by the Conjuncture of Philoſophy and Divinity.

Let us come now to the Common-wealth of the *Jews*. Was not the Prieſthood in a Family (namely the Levites) as well as the Prieſthood of *Ægypt*? Did not the High Prieſt give Judgment by the Breaſt-plate of Urim and Thummim? Look upon the Kingdom of *Aſſyria*, and the Philoſophers and *Chaldæans*. Had they not Lands and Cities belonging to their Family, even in *Abraham*'s time, who dwelt (you know) in *Ur* of the *Chaldæans*; of theſe the ſame

Author ſays thus: The *Chaldæans* are a Sect in Politicks like to that of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts; for being ordained for the Service of the Gods, they ſpend the whole time of their life in Philoſophy, being of exceeding great reputation in Aſtrology, and pretending much alſo to Prophecy, foretelling things to come by Purifications and Sacrifices, and to find out by certain Incantations the preventing of harm, and the bringing to paſs of good. They have alſo skill in Augury, and in the Interpretation of Dreams and Wonders, nor are unskilful in the Art of foretelling by the Inwards of Beaſts ſacrificed, and have their Learning, not as the *Greeks*: for the Philoſophy of the *Chaldæons* goes to their Family by Tradition, and the Son receives it from his Father.

From *Aſſyria* let us paſs into *India*, and ſee what eſteem the Philoſophers had there. The whole Multitude (ſays *Diodorus*) of the *Indians* is divided into ſeven parts; whereof the firſt is the Body of Philoſophers, for number the leaſt, but for eminence the firſt; for they are free from Taxes, and as they are not Maſters of others, ſo are no others Maſters of them. By private men they are called to the Sacrifices, and to the care of burials of the dead, as being thought moſt beloved of the Gods, and skilful in the Doctrine concerning Hell,

and

and for this Employment receive Gifts and Honours very conſiderable. They are alſo of great uſe to the People of *India*; for being taken at the beginning of the year into the Great Aſſembly, they foretell them of great Drouths, great Rains, alſo of Winds and of Sickneſſes, and of whatſoever is profitable for them to know before-hand.

The ſame Author concerning the Laws of the *Æthiopians* ſaith thus: The Laws of the *Æthiopians* ſeem very different from thoſe of other Nations, and eſpecially about the Election of their Kings: for the Prieſts propound ſome of the Chief Men amongſt them, named in a Catalogue, and whom the God (which according to a certain Cuſtom is carried about to Feaſtings) does accept of, him the Multitude elect for their King, and preſently adore and honour him as a God, put into the Government by Divine Providence. The King being choſen, he has the manner of his life limited to him by the Laws, and does all other things according to the Cuſtom of the Countrey, neither rewarding, nor puniſhing any man, otherwiſe than from the beginning is eſtabliſhed amongſt them by Law; nor uſe they to put any man to death, though he be condemned to it, but to ſend ſome Officer to him with a Token of death; who ſeeing the Token, goes preſently to his Houſe, and kills

kills himſelf preſently after: But the ſtrangeſt thing of all is, that which they do concerning the death of their Kings: for the Prieſts that live in *Meröe*, and ſpend their time about the Worſhip and Honour of the Gods, and are in greateſt Authority; when they have a mind to it, ſend a Meſſenger to the King, to bid him die, for that the Gods have given ſuch order, and that the Commandments of the Immortals are not by any means to be neglected by thoſe that are by Nature Mortal; uſing alſo other Speeches to him, which men of ſimple Judgment, and that have not reaſon enough to diſpute againſt thoſe unneceſſary Commands, as being educated in an old and undelible Cuſtom, are content to admit of. Therefore in former times the Kings did obey the Prieſts, not as maſtered by Force and Arms, but as having their reaſon maſtered by Superſtition. But in the time of *Ptolomy* the ſecond, *Ergamenes*, King of the *Æthiopians*, having had his breeding in Philoſophy after the manner of the *Greeks*, being the firſt that durſt diſpute their power, took heart as befitted a King, came with Soldiers to a place called *Abaton*, where was then the Golden Temple of the *Æthiopians*, killed all the Prieſts, aboliſhed the Cuſtom, and rectified the Kingdom according to his will.

B. Though

B. Though they that were killed were moſt damnable Impoſtors, yet the Act was cruel.

A. It was ſo: but were not the Prieſts cruel to cauſe their Kings, whom a little before they adored as Gods, to make away themſelves? The King killed them for the ſafety of his Perſon; they him out of Ambition or love of Change. The King's Act may be coloured with the good of his People; The Prieſts had no pretence againſt their Kings, who were certainly very godly, or elſe would never have obeyed the Command of the Prieſts by a Meſſenger unarmed, to kill themſelves. Our late King, the beſt King perhaps that ever was, you know, was murdered, having been firſt perſecuted by War, at the incitement of Presbyterian Miniſters, who are therefore guilty of the death of all that fell in that War, which were, I believe, in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* near 100000 perſons. Had it not been much better that thoſe ſeditious Miniſters, which were not perhaps 1000, had been all killed, before they had preached. It had been (I confeſs) a great Maſſacre, but the killing of 100000 is a greater.

B. I am glad the Biſhops were out at this buſineſs; as ambitious as ſome ſay they are, it did not appear in that buſineſs, for they

they were Enemies to them that were in it.

A. But I intend not by theſe Quotations to commend either the Divinity, or the Philoſophy of thoſe Heathen People; but to ſhew only what the reputation of thoſe Sciences can effect among the People. For their Divinity was nothing but Idolatry, and their Philoſophy (excepting the knowledge which the *Ægyptian* Prieſts, and from them the *Chaldæans*, had gotten by long obſervation and ſtudy in Aſtronomy, Geometry and Arithmetick) very little; and that in great part abuſed in Aſtrology and Fortune-telling. Whereas the Divinity of the Clergy in this Nation, conſidered apart from the mixture (that has been introduced by the Church of *Rome*, and in part retained here) of the babling Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, and other *Greeks*, that has no affinity with Religion, and ſerves only to breed diſaffection, diſſention, and finally Sedition and Civil War (as we have lately found by dear experience, in the differences between the Presbyterians and Epiſcopals) is the true Religion: but for theſe differences both Parties as they came in power, not only ſuppreſſed the Tenets of one another; but alſo whatſoever Doctrine look'd with an ill aſpect upon their Intereſt, and conſequently all true Philoſophy, eſpecially Civil and Moral,

Moral, which can never appear propitious to ambition, or to an exemption from their obedience due to the Sovereign Power.

After the King had accuſed the Lord *Kimbolton*, a Member of the Lords Houſe, and *Hollis*, *Haſlerigg*, *Hampden*, *Pim* and *Stroud*, five Members of the Lower Houſe, of High Treaſon; and after the Parliament had voted out the Biſhops from the Houſe of Peers; they purſued eſpecially two things in their Petitions to his Majeſty: The one was, That the King would declare who were the perſons that adviſed him to go, as he did, to the Parliament Houſe, to apprehend them, and that he would leave them to the Parliament to receive condign puniſhment; and this they did to ſtick upon his Majeſty the diſhonour of deſerting his Friends, and betraying them to his Enemies. The other was, That he would allow them a Guard out of the City of *London*, to be commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*; for which they pretended they could not elſe ſit in ſafety: which pretence was nothing but an upbraiding of his Majeſty for coming to Parliament better accompanied than ordinary, to ſeize the ſaid five ſeditious Members.

B. I ſee no reaſon in petitioning for a Guard, they ſhould determine it to the City of *London* in particular, and the Command by name to the Earl of *Eſſex*; unleſs they meant

meant the King ſhould underſtand it for a Guard againſt himſelf.

A. Their meaning was, that the King ſhould underſtand it ſo, and (as I verily believe) they meant he ſhould take it for an affront: and the King himſelf underſtanding it ſo, denied to grant it; though he were willing, if they could not otherwiſe be ſatisfied, to Command ſuch a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be reſponſible for to God Almighty. Beſides this, the City of *London* petitioned the King (put upon it, no doubt, by ſome Members of the Lower Houſe) to put the Tower of *London* into the Hands of perſons of Truſt, meaning ſuch as the Parliament ſhould approve of, and to appoint a Guard for the ſafety of his Majeſty and the Parliament. This Method of bringing Petitions in a Tumultuary manner by great multitudes of clamorous people, was ordinary with the Houſe of Commons, whoſe Ambition could never have been ſerved by way of prayer and requeſt, without extraordinary terror.

After the King had waved the proſecution of the five Members, but denied to make known who had adviſed him to come in perſon to the Houſe of Commons, they queſtion'd the Attorney-General, who by the King's Command had exhibited the Articles againſt them, and voted him a breaker

of

of the Priviledge of Parliament, and no doubt had made him feel their cruelty, if he had not ſpeedily fled the Land.

About the end of *January*, they made an Order of both Houſes of Parliament to prevent the going over of Popiſh Commanders into *Ireland*; not ſo much fearing that, as that by this the King himſelf chooſing his Commanders for that Service, might aid himſelf out of *Ireland* againſt the Parliament. But this was no great matter in reſpect of a Petition they ſent his Majeſty about the ſame time, that is to ſay, about the 27*th* or 28*th* of *January* 1641. wherein they deſir'd in effect the abſolute Sovereignty of *England*, though by the name of Sovereignty they challenged it not, whilſt the King was living: For to the end that the fears and dangers of this Kingdom might be remov'd, and the miſchievous deſigns of thoſe who are Enemies to the peace of it, might be prevented, they pray; That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to put forthwith, firſt, The Tower of *London*; 2. All other Forts; 3. The whole Militia of the Kingdom, into the Hands of ſuch perſons as ſhould be recommended to him by both the Houſes of Parliament. And this they ſtile a neceſſary Petition.

B. Were there really any ſuch fears and dangers generally conceiv'd here? or did there

there appear any Enemies at that time with ſuch Deſigns as are mentioned in the Petition?

A. Yes: But no other fear of danger, but ſuch as any diſcreet and honeſt man might juſtly have of the Deſigns of the Parliament it ſelf, who were the greateſt Enemies to the peace of the Kingdom that could poſſibly be. 'Tis alſo worth obſerving, that this Petition began with theſe words: *Moſt Gracious Sovereign:* So ſtupid they were as not to know, that he that is Maſter of the Militia, is Maſter of the Kingdom, and conſequently is in poſſeſſion of a moſt abſolute Sovereignty. The King was now at *Windſor*, to avoid the Tumults of the Common People before the Gates of *White-hall*, together with their clamors and affronts there. The 9*th* of *February* after he came to *Hampton-Court*, and thence he went to *Dover* with the Queen and the Princeſs of *Orange*, his Daughter, where the Queen with the Princeſs of *Orange* embarqued for *Holland*; but the King returned to *Greenwich*, whence he ſent for the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, and ſo went with them towards *York*.

B. Did the Lords joyn with the Commons in this Petition for the Militia?

A. It appears ſo by the Title: but I believe they durſt not but do it. The Houſe of

of Commons took them but for a Cypher; Men of Title only without real Power. Perhaps alſo the moſt of them thought, that the taking of the Militia from the King would be an addition to their own power; but they were very much miſtaken, for the Houſe of Commons never intended they ſhould be ſharers in it.

B. What anſwer made the King to this Petition?

A. That when he ſhall know the extent of Power, which is intended to be eſtabliſhed in thoſe perſons, whom they deſire to be the Commanders of the Militia in the ſeveral Counties, and likewiſe to what time it ſhall be limited; That no Power ſhall be executed by his Majeſty alone without the advice of Parliament, then he will declare, that (for the ſecuring them from all Dangers or Jealouſies of any) his Majeſty will be content to put into all the places, both Forts and Militia in the ſeveral Counties, ſuch perſons as both the Houſes of Parliament ſhall either approve, or recommend unto him; ſo that they declare before unto his Majeſty the Names of the perſons whom they approve or recommend; unleſs ſuch perſons ſhall be named, againſt whom he ſhall have juſt and unqueſtionable exceptions.

B. What power, for what time, and to whom did the Parliament grant, concerning the Militia?

A. The ſame power which the King had before planted in his Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants in the ſeveral Counties, and without other limitation of time but their own pleaſure.

B. Who were the men that had this power?

A. There is a Catalogue of them printed. They are very many; and moſt of them Lords; nor is it neceſſary to have them named: for to name them is, in my opinion, to brand them with the mark of Diſloyalty, or of Folly. When they had made a Catalogue of them, they ſent it to the King, with a new Petition for the Militia. Alſo preſently after they ſent a Meſſage to his Majeſty, praying him to leave the Prince at *Hampton Court*, but the King granted neither.

B. Howſoever it was well done of them to get Hoſtages (if they could) of the King before he went from them.

A. In the mean time, to raiſe Money for the reducing of *Ireland*, the Parliament invited men to bring in Money by way of Adventure, according to theſe Propoſitions. 1. That two millions and five hundred thouſand Acres of Land in *Ireland* ſhould be aſſign-

assigned to the Adventurers in this proportion.

	l.	
For an Adventure of	200 — 1000	Acres in *Ulster.*
	300 — 1000	Acres in *Conaught.*
	450 — 1000	Acres in *Munster.*
	600 — 1000	Acres in *Lemster.*

All according to *English* measure, and consisting of Meadow, Arable and profitable Pasture; Bogs, Woods and barren Mountains being cast in over and above. 2. A Revenue was reserved to the Crown from 1 *d.* to 3 *d.* on every Acre. 3. That Commissions should be sent by the Parliament to erect Mannors, settle Wasts and Commons, maintain preaching Ministers, to create Corporations, and to regulate Plantations. The rest of the Propositions concern only the times and manner of payment of the Sums subscribed by the Adventurers. And to these Propositions his Majesty assented; but to the Petition of the Militia his Majesty denied his Assent.

B. If he had not I should have thought it a great wonder. What did the Parliament after this?

A. They sent him another Petition, which was presented to him when he was at *Theobalds* in his way to *York*; wherein they tell him plainly, That unless he be

pleaſed to aſſure them by thoſe Meſſengers then ſent, that he would ſpeedily apply his Royal Aſſent to the ſatisfaction of their former deſires, they ſhall be enforced, for the ſafety of his Majeſty and his Kingdoms, to diſpoſe of the Militia by the Authority of both Houſes, *&c.* They petition his Majeſty alſo to let the Prince ſtay at St. *James's*, or ſome other of his Majeſties Houſes near *London*. They tell him alſo, that the power of raiſing, ordering and diſpoſing of the Militia cannot be granted to any Corporation without the Authority and Conſent of Parliament, and that thoſe parts of the Kingdom, which have put themſelves into a poſture of defence, have done nothing therein, but by direction of both Houſes, and what is juſtifiable by the Laws of this Kingdom.

B. What anſwer made the King to this?

A. It was a putting of themſelves into Arms, and under Officers ſuch as the Parliament ſhould approve of. 4. They Voted, That his Majeſty ſhould be again deſired, that the Prince might continue about *London*. Laſtly, They Voted a Declaration to be ſent to his Majeſty by both the Houſes; wherein they accuſe his Majeſty of a Deſign of altering Religion, though not directly him, but them that counſel'd him; whom they alſo accuſed of being the

Invi-

Inviters and Fomenters of the *Scotch* War, and Framers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and upbraid the King again for accuſing the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members, and of being privy to the purpoſe of bringing up his Army, which was raiſed againſt the *Scots*, to be employed againſt the Parliament. To which his Majeſty ſent his Anſwer from *Newmarket*. Whereupon it was reſolved by both Houſes, that in this Caſe of extream Danger, and of his Majeſties refuſal, the Ordinance agreed upon by both Houſes for the Militia, doth oblige the People by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; and alſo, that whoſoever ſhall execute any power over the Militia, by colour of any Commiſſion of Lieutenancy, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, ſhall be accounted a Diſturber of the peace of the Kingdom. Whereupon his Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes from *Huntington*, requiring obedience to the Laws eſtabliſhed, and prohibiting all Subjects, upon pretence of their Ordinance, to execute any thing concerning the Militia, which is not by thoſe Laws warranted. Upon this the Parliament vote a ſtanding to their former Votes; as alſo, that when the Lords and Commons in Parliament, which is the Supream Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, ſhall declare what the Law of the

Land is; to have this not only queſtion'd, but contradicted, is a high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.

B. I thought that he that makes the Law, ought to declare what the Law is; for what is it elſe to make a Law, but to declare what it is? So that they have taken from the King, not only the Militia, but alſo the Legiſlative Power.

A. They have ſo; but I make account that the Legiſlative Power (and indeed all power poſſible) is contained in the power of the Militia. After this they ſeize ſuch Money as was due to his Majeſty upon the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, and upon the Bill of Subſidies, that they might diſable him every way they poſſibly could. They ſent him alſo many other contumelious Meſſages and Petitions, after his coming to *York*; amongſt which one was; That whereas the Lord Admiral, by indiſpoſition of Body, could not command the Fleet in perſon, he would be pleaſed to give Authority to the Earl of *Warwick* to ſupply his place; when they knew the King had put Sir *John Pennington* in it before.

B. To what end did the King entertain ſo many Petitions, Meſſages, Declarations and Remonſtrances, and vouchſafe his Anſwers to them, when he could not chooſe but clearly ſee, they were reſolv'd to take from him his

his Royal Power, and conſequently his Life? For it could not ſtand with their ſafety to let either him or his Iſſue live, after they had done him ſo great Injuries.

A. Beſides this, the Parliament had at the ſame time a Committee reſiding at *York*, to ſpy what his Majeſty did, and to inform the Parliament thereof, and alſo to hinder the King from gaining the People of that County to his Party: So that when his Majeſty was courting the Gentlemen there, the Committee was inſtigating of the Yeomanry againſt him. To which alſo the Miniſters did very much contribute: So that the King loſt his opportunity at *York*,

B. Why did not the King ſeize the Committee into his Hands, or drive them out of Town?

A. I know not: but I believe he knew the Parliament had a greater Party than he, not only in *York-ſhire*, but alſo in *York*.

Towards the end of *April*, the King, upon Petition of the People of *York-ſhire*, to have the Magazine of *Hull* to remain ſtill there, for the greater ſecurity of the Northern parts, thought fit to take it into his own Hands. He had a little before appointed Governour of that Town the Earl of *New-Caſtle*; but the Townſ-men having been already corrupted by the Parliament, refuſed to receive him, but refuſed not to

receive Sir *John Hotham*, appointed to be Governour by the Parliament. The King therefore coming before the Town, guarded only by his own Servants, and a few Gentlemen of the Countrey thereabouts, was denied entrance by Sir *John Hotham* that ſtood upon the Wall: for which Act he preſently cauſed Sir *John Hotham* to be proclaimed Traitor, and ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, requiring Juſtice to be done upon the ſaid *Hotham*, and that the Town and Magazine might be delivered into his hands. To which the Parliament made no anſwer, but in ſtead thereof publiſhed another Declaration, in which they omitted nothing of their former ſlanders againſt his Majeſties Government, but inſerted certain Propoſitions declarative of their own pretended Right, *viz.* 1. That whatſoever they declare to be Law, ought not to be queſtion'd by the King. 2. That no Precedents can be limits to bound their proceedings. 3. That a Parliament for the publick good may diſpoſe of any thing, wherein the King or Subject hath a Right; and that they, without the King, are this Parliament, and the Judge of this publick good, and that the King's Conſent is not neceſſary. 4. That no Member of either Houſe ought to be troubled for Treaſon, Felony, or any other Crime, unleſs the Cauſe be firſt brought before

before the Parliament that they may judge of the Fact, and give leave to proceed, if they ſee cauſe. 5. That the Sovereign Power reſides in both Houſes, and that the King ought to have no Negative Voice. 6. That the Levying of Forces againſt the perſonal Commands of the King, (though accompanied with his preſence) is not Levying War againſt the King; but the Levying of War againſt his Politick Perſon, *viz.* his Laws, *&c.* 7. That Treaſon cannot be committed againſt his Perſon, otherwiſe than as he is entruſted with the Kingdom, and diſcharges that Truſt; and that they have a power to judge whether he have diſcharged this Truſt or not. 8. That they may diſpoſe of the King when they will.

B. This is plain dealing, and without Hypocriſie. Could the City of *London* ſwallow this?

A. Yes; and more too, if need be. *London*, you know, has a great Belly, but no Pallat, nor Taſt of Right and Wrong. In the Parliament Roll of *Hen.* 4. amongſt the Articles of the Oath the King at his Coronation took, there is one runs thus: *Concedes juſtas Leges & Conſuetudines eſſe tenendas; & promittes per te eas eſſe protegendas, & ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas vulgus elegerit.* Which the Parliament urged for their Legiſlative Authority, and therefore

fore interpret *quas vulgus elegerit*, which the People ſhall chooſe; as if the King ſhould ſwear to protect and corroborate Laws, before they were made, whether they be good or bad; whereas the words ſignifie no more, but that he ſhall protect and corroborate ſuch Laws as they have choſen, that is to ſay, the Acts of Parliament then in being. And in the Records of the Exchequer it is thus: *Will you grant to hold and keep the Laws and rightful Cuſtoms which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have, and will you defend and uphold them?* &c. And this was the Anſwer his Majeſty made to that Point.

B. And I think this Anſwer very full and clear: but if the words were to be interpreted in the other ſenſe, yet I ſee no reaſon why the King ſhould be bound to ſwear to them: for *Hen.* 4. came to the Crown by the Votes of a Parliament, not much inferior in wickedneſs to this Long Parliament, that depoſed and murdered their Lawful King; ſaving that it was not the Parliament it ſelf, but the Uſurper that murdered King *Richard* the ſecond.

A. About a week after, in the beginning of *May*, the Parliament ſent the King another Paper, which they ſtiled the humble Petition and Advice of both Houſes, containing 19 Propoſitions; which when you ſhall

ſhall hear, you ſhall be able to judge what power they meant to leave to the King, more than to any one of his Subjects. The firſt of them is this.

1. That the Lords, and others of his Majeſties Privy-Council, and all great Officers of State, both at home and abroad, be put from their Employments, and from his Councils; ſave only ſuch as ſhould be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament, and none put into their places, but by approbation of the ſaid Houſes. And that all Privy-Councellors take an Oath for the due execution of their places, in ſuch form as ſhall be agreed upon by the ſaid Houſes.

2. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom be debated, reſolved and tranſacted only in Parliament, and ſuch as ſhall preſume to do any thing to the contrary, be reſerved to the cenſure of the Parliament, and ſuch other matters of State, as are proper for his Majeſties Privy-Council, ſhall be debated, and concluded by ſuch as ſhall from time to time be choſen for that place by both Houſes of Parliament, and that no publick Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for his Privy-Council, be eſteemed valid, as proceeding from the Royal Authority; unleſs it be done by the Advice and Conſent of the Major part of the Councel, atteſted under their Hands:

and

and that the Council be not more than 25, nor less than 15; and that when a Councellors place falls void in the Interval of Parliament, it shall not be supplied without the Assent of the Major part of the Council; and that such choice also shall be void, if the next Parliament after confirm it not.

3. That the Lord High Steward of *England*, Lord High Constable, Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy-Seal, Earl Marshal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Chief Governour of *Ireland*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Master of the Wards, Secretaries of State, two Chief Justices and Chief Baron be always chosen with the Approbation of both Houses of Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Major part of the Privy-Council.

4. That the Government of the King's Children shall be committed to such as both Houses shall approve of, and in the Intervals of Parliament, such as the Privy-Council shall approve of; that the Servants then about them, against whom the Houses have just exception, should be removed.

5. That no Marriage be concluded or treated of for any of the King's Children, without consent of Parliament.

6. That

6. That the Laws in force againſt Jeſuits, Prieſts and Popiſh Recuſants be ſtrictly put in execution.

7. That the Votes of Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers be taken away, and that a Bill be paſſed for the education of the Children of Papiſts in the Proteſtant Religion.

8. That the King will be pleaſed to reform the Church-Government and Lyturgy in ſuch manner as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall adviſe.

9. That he would be pleaſed to reſt ſatisfied with that Courſe that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering the Militia, and recall his Declarations and Proclamations againſt it.

10. That ſuch Members as have been put out of any Place, or Office, ſince this Parliament began, may be reſtored, or have ſatisfaction.

11. That all Privy-Councellors and Judges take an Oath, the form whereof ſhall be agreed on, and ſetled by Act of Parliament for the maintaining the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by the Parliament.

12. That all the Judges and Officers placed by Approbation of both Houſes of Parliament, may hold their places *quam diu bene ſe geſſerint.*

13. That

13. That the Juſtice of Parliament may paſs upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it; and that all perſons cited by either Houſe of Parliament may appear and abide the Cenſure of Parliament.

14. That the General Pardon offered by his Majeſty be granted with ſuch Exceptions, as ſhall be adviſed by both Houſes of Parliament.

B. What a ſpiteful Article was this! All the reſt proceeded from Ambition, which many times well-natur'd men are ſubject to; but this proceeded from an inhumane and deviliſh cruelty.

A. 15. That the Forts and Caſtles be put under the Command of ſuch perſons as, with the Approbation of the Parliament, the King ſhall appoint.

16. That the extraordinary Guards about the King be diſcharged; and for the future none raiſed, but according to the Law in caſe of actual Rebellion, or Invaſion.

B. Methinks theſe very Propoſitions ſent to the King are an actual Rebellion.

A. 17. That his Majeſty enter into a more ſtrict Alliance with the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Proteſtant Princes and States.

18. That his Majeſty be pleaſed by Act of Parliament to clear the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the

the five Members of the Houſe of Commons, in ſuch manner as that future Parliaments may be ſecur'd from the conſequence of that evil Preſident.

19. That his Majeſty be pleaſed to paſs a Bill for reſtraining Peers made hereafter, from ſitting, or voting in Parliament, unleſs they be admitted with conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

Theſe Propoſitions granted; they promiſe to apply themſelves to regulate his Majeſties Revenue to his beſt advantage, and to ſettle it to the ſupport of his Royal Dignity in Honour and Plenty; and alſo to put the Town of *Hull* into ſuch Hands, as his Majeſty ſhall appoint, with conſent of Parliament.

B. Is not that to put it into ſuch hands as his Majeſty ſhall appoint by the conſent of the Petitioners, which is no more than to keep it in their hands as it is? Did they want, or think the King wanted common ſenſe, ſo as not to perceive that their promiſe herein was worth nothing?

A. After the ſending of theſe Propoſitions to the King, and his Majeſties refuſal to grant them, they began, on both ſides, to prepare for War. The King raiſing a Guard for his Perſon in *York-ſhire*, and the Parliament thereupon having Voted, that the King intended to make War upon

upon his Parliament, gave order for the muſtering and exerciſing the People in Arms, and publiſhed Propoſitions to invite and incourage them to bring in either ready Money or Plate, or to promiſe under their hands to furniſh and maintain certain numbers of Horſe, Horſe-men and Arms for the defence of the King and Parliament, (meaning by King as they had formerly declar'd, not his Perſon, but his Laws) promiſing to repay their Money with Intereſt of 8 *l.* in the 100 *l.* and the value of their Plate with 12 *d.* the Ounce for the faſhion. On the other ſide the King came to *Nottingham*, and there did ſet up his Standard Royal, and ſent out Commiſſions of Array to call thoſe to him, which by the Ancient Laws of *England* were bound to ſerve him in the Wars. Upon this occaſion there paſſed divers Declarations between the King and Parliament concerning the Legality of this Array, which are too long to tell you at this time.

B. Nor do I deſire to hear any Mooting about this Queſtion: for I think that general Law of *Salus Populi*, and the Right of defending himſelf, againſt thoſe that had taken from him the Sovereign Power, are ſufficient to make legal whatſoever he ſhould do, in order to the recovery of his Kingdom, or to the puniſhing of the Rebels.

A. In

A. In the mean time the Parliament raiſed an Army, and made the Earl of *Eſſex* General thereof; by which Act they declared what they meant formerly, when they petition'd the King for a Guard to be commanded by the ſaid Earl of *Eſſex*; and now the King ſends out his Proclamations forbidding obedience to the Orders of the Parliament concerning the Militia; and the Parliament ſend out Orders againſt the Execution of the Commiſſions of Array. Hitherto, (though it were a War before) yet there was no Blood ſhed; they ſhot at one another nothing but paper.

B. I underſtand now how the Parliament deſtroyed the Peace of the Kingdom; and how eaſily by the help of ſeditious Presbyterian Miniſters, and of Ambitious Ignorant Orators, they reduced this Government into Anarchy: but I believe it will be a harder Task for them to bring in Peace again, and ſettle the Government either in themſelves, or any other Governor or form of Government. For granting that they obtained the Victory in this War, they muſt be beholding for it to the Valor, good Conduct, or Felicity of thoſe to whom they give the Command of their Armies; eſpecially to the General, whoſe good ſucceſs will, without doubt, draw with it the Love and Admiration of the Soldiers; ſo that it

will be in his power, either to take the Government upon himſelf, or to place it where himſelf thinks good. In which caſe, if he take it not to himſelf, he will be thought a Fool; and if he do, he ſhall be ſure to have the envy of his ſubordinate Commanders who look for a ſhare, either in the preſent Government, or in the Succeſſion to it: for they will ſay, has he obtain'd this power by his own, without our Danger, Valor, and Counſel? and muſt we be his Slaves whom we have thus raiſed? Or is not there as much Juſtice on our ſide againſt him, as was on his ſide againſt the King?

A. They will, and did; in ſo much that the reaſon why *Cromwel*, after he had gotten into his own hands the abſolute power of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* by the Name of Protector, did never dare to take upon him the Title of King, nor was ever able to ſettle it upon his Children. His Officers would not ſuffer it, as pretending after his death to ſucceed him; nor would the Army conſent to it, becauſe he had ever declared to them, againſt the Government of a ſingle perſon.

B. But to return to the King. What Means had he to pay? What Proviſion had he to Arm, nay Means to Levy an Army able to reſiſt the Army of the Parliament, main-

maintained by the great Purſe of the City of *London*, and Contributions of almoſt all the Towns Corporate in *England*, and furniſhed with Arms as fully as they could require?

A. 'Tis true, the King had great diſadvantages, and yet by little and little he got a conſiderable Army, with which he ſo proſpered, as to grow ſtronger every day, and the Parliament weaker, till they had gotten the *Scotch* with an Army of 21000 Men to come into *England* to their Aſſiſtance. But to enter into the particular Narration of what was done in the War, I have not now time.

B. Well then, we will talk of that at next meeting.

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A. 'Tis true the King had great difficulties and yet by
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But to enter into the particular Narration
of what was done in the War. Time not
now time.

A. Well then, we will talk of that at
next meeting.

Behemoth,

Part III.

B. WE left at the Preparations on both ſides for War: which when I conſidered by my ſelf, I was mightily puzled to find out what poſſibility there was for the King to equal the Parliament in ſuch a courſe, and what hopes he had of Money, Men, Arms, Fortified places, Shipping, Councel and Military Officers ſufficient for ſuch an Enterprize againſt the Parliament, that had Men and Money as much at command, as the City of *London*, and other Corporation Towns were able to furniſh, which was more than they needed. And for the Men they ſhould ſet forth for Soldiers, they were almoſt all of them ſpightfully bent againſt the King and his whole Party, whom they took to be either Papiſts, or Flatterers of the King, or that had deſigned to raiſe their Fortunes by the

plunder of the City, and other Corporation Towns. And though I believe, not that they were more valiant than other Men, nor that they had ſo much experience in the War, as to be accounted good Soldiers; yet they had that in them, which in time of Battle is more conducing to Victory than Valor and Experience both together, and that was ſpight.

And for Arms, they had in their hands the Chief Magazines, the Tower of *London*, and the Town of *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, beſides moſt of the Powder and Shot that lay in ſeveral Towns, for the uſe of the Train'd Bands.

Fortified places there were not many then in *England*, and moſt of them in the hands of the Parliament.

The King's Fleet was wholly in their Command under the Earl of *Warwick*.

Councellors they needed no more than ſuch as were of their own Body; ſo that the King was every way inferior to them, except it were perhaps in Officers.

A. I cannot compare their Chief Officers, for the Parliament the Earl of *Eſſex* (after the Parliament had voted the War) was made General of all their Forces, both in *England* and *Ireland*, from whom all other Commanders were to receive their Commiſſions.

B. What

B. What moved them to make General the Earl of *Eſſex*? And for what cauſe was the Earl of *Eſſex* ſo diſpleaſed with the King, as to accept that Office?

A. I do not certainly know what to anſwer to either of thoſe Queſtions: but the Earl of *Eſſex* had been in the Wars abroad, and wanted neither Experience, Judgment nor Courage to perform ſuch an undertaking. And beſides that, you have heard, I believe, how great a Darling of the People his Father had been before him, and what Honour he had gotten by the Succeſs of his Enterprize upon *Cales*, and in ſome other Military Actions. To which I may add, that this Earl himſelf was not held by the people to be ſo great a Favorite at Court, as that they might not truſt him with their Army againſt the King. And by this you may perhaps conjecture the Cauſe for which the Parliament made choice of him for General.

B. But why did they think him diſcontented with the Court?

A. I know not that; nor indeed that he was ſo. He came to the Court as other Noble-men did, when occaſion was, to wait upon the King, but had no Office, till a little before this time, to oblige him to be there continually: but I believe verily, that the unfortunateneſs of his Marriages had ſo

discountenanced his Conversation with Ladies, that the Court could not be his proper Element, unless he had had some extraordinary favour there to ballance that Calamity: but for particular discontent from the King, or intention of revenge for any supposed disgrace, I think he had none, nor that he was any ways addicted to Presbyterian Doctrines, or other Fanatick Tenets in Church or State; saving only, that he was carried away with the Stream (in a manner) of the whole Nation, to think that *England* was not an absolute, but a mixt Monarchy; not considering that the Supream Power must always be absolute, whether it be in the King, or in the Parliament.

B. Who was General of the King's Army?

A. None yet, but himself; nor indeed had he yet any Army; but there coming to him at that time his two Nephews, the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, he put the Command of his Horse into the Hands of Prince *Rupert*, a Man than whom no man living has a better Courage, nor was more active and diligent in prosecuting his Commissions; and though but a young man then, was not without experience in the conducting of Soldiers; as having been an Actor in part of his Fathers Wars in *Germany*.

B. But

B. But how could the King find Money to pay ſuch an Army as was neceſſary for him againſt the Parliament?

A. Neither the King nor Parliament had much Money at that time, in their own Hands, but were fain to rely upon the Benevolence of thoſe that took their parts. Wherein (I confeſs) the Parliament had a mighty great advantage. Thoſe that helped the King in that kind were only Lords and Gentlemen, which not approving the proceedings of the Parliament, were willing to undertake the payment every one of a certain number of Horſe, which cannot be thought any very great aſſiſtance, the perſons that payed them being ſo few: For other Moneys that the King then had, I have not heard of any, but what he borrowed upon Jewels in the Low Countries. Whereas the Parliament had a very plentiful Contribution, not only from *London*, but generally from their Faction in all other places of *England*, upon certain Propoſitions (publiſhed by the Lords and Commons in *June* 1642. at what time they had newly voted, that the King intended to make War upon them) for bringing in of Money or Plate to maintain Horſe and Horſe-men, and to buy Arms for the preſervation of the publick Peace, and for the defence of the King, and both Houſes of Parliament: For the re-

re-payment of which Money and Plate they were to have the Publick Faith.

B. What Publick Faith is there, when there is no Publick? What is it that can be called Publick in a Civil War without the King?

A. The Truth is, the Security was nothing worth, but ſerved well enough to gull thoſe ſeditious Blockheads, that were more fond of Change, than either of their Peace or Profit.

Having by this means gotten Contributions from thoſe that were the well-affected to their Cauſe, they made uſe of it afterwards to force the like Contribution from others: For in *November* following they made an Ordinance for Aſſeſſing alſo of thoſe, that had not contributed then, or had contributed, but not proportionably to their Eſtates. And yet this was contrary to what the Parliament promiſed and declar'd in the Propoſitions themſelves; for they declar'd in the firſt Propoſition, That no man's affection ſhould be meaſured by the proportion of his Offer, ſo that he expreſſed his good will to the Service in any proportion whatſoever.

Beſides this, in the beginning of *March* following, they made an Ordinance to Levy weekly a great Sum of Money upon every County, City, Town, Place and Perſon of

of any Eſtate almoſt in *England*; which weekly Sum (as may appear by the Ordinance it ſelf printed and publiſhed in *March* 1642. by Order of both Houſes) comes to almoſt 33000 *l.* and conſequently to above 1700000 *l.* for the year. They had beſides all this the profits of the Kings Lands and Woods, and whatſoever was remaining unpaid of any Subſidy formerly granted him, and the Tonnage and Poundage uſually received by the King; beſides the profit of the Sequeſtrations of great Perſons, whom they pleaſed to vote Delinquents, and the profits of the Biſhops Lands, which they took to themſelves a year or a little more after.

B. Seeing then the Parliament had ſuch advantage of the King in Money, and Arms, and Multitude of Men, and had in their Hands the King's Fleet; I cannot imagine what hope the King could have, either of Victory, (unleſs he reſigned into their Hands the Sovereignty) or ſubſiſting: for I cannot well believe he had any advantage of them, either in Councellors, Conductors, or in the Reſolutions of his Soldiers.

A. On the contrary, I think he had alſo ſome diſadvantage in that: for though he had as good Officers at leaſt, as any then ſerved the Parliament, yet I doubt he had not ſo uſeful Councel as was neceſſary; and for

for his Soldiers, though they were men as ſtout as theirs, yet becauſe their Valor was not ſharpned ſo with malice, as theirs was of the other ſide, they fought not ſo keenly as their Enemies did: amongſt whom there were a great many *London* Apprentices, who for want of Experience in the War, would have been fearful enough of Death and Wounds approaching viſibly in gliſtering Swords; but for want of Judgment ſcarce thought of ſuch death as comes inviſibly in a Bullet, and therefore were very hardly to be driven out of the Field.

B. But what fault do you find in the King's Councellors, Lords, and other Perſons of Quality and Experience?

A. Only that fault, which was generally in the whole Nation, which was, that they thought the Government of *England* was not an abſolute, but a mixt Monarchy; and that if the King ſhould clearly ſubdue this Parliament, that his Power would be what he pleaſed, and theirs as little as he pleaſed, which they counted Tyranny. This opinion, though it did not leſſen their endeavour to gain the Victory for the King in a Battle, when a Battle could not be avoided, yet it weakned their endeavour to procure him an abſolute Victory in the War. And for this Cauſe, notwithſtanding that they ſaw that the Parliament was firmly reſolv'd

reſolv'd to take all Kingly Power whatſoever out of his Hands; yet their Counſel to the King was upon all occaſions, to offer Propoſitions to them of Treaty and Accommodation, and to make and publiſh Declarations, which any man might eaſily have foreſeen would be fruitleſs; and not only ſo, but alſo of great diſadvantage to thoſe Actions by which the King was to recover his Crown, and preſerve his Life: for it took off the Courage of the beſt and forwardeſt of his Soldiers, that looked for great benefit by their Service out of the Eſtates of the Rebels, in caſe they could ſubdue them; but none at all if the buſineſs ſhould be ended by a Treaty.

B. And they had reaſon: for a Civil War never ends by Treaty without the Sacrifice of thoſe, who were on both ſides the ſharpeſt. You know well enough how things paſs'd at the Reconciliation of *Auguſtus* and *Antonius* in *Rome*: but I thought, that after they once began to Levy Soldiers one againſt another, that they would not any more have return'd of either ſide to Declarations, or other Paper War, which if it could have done any good, would have done it long before this.

A. But ſeeing the Parliament continued writing, and ſet forth their Declarations to the People againſt the Lawfulneſs of the King's

King's Commiſſion of Array, and ſent Petitions to the King as fierce and rebellious as ever they had done before, demanding of him, That he would disband his Soldiers, and come up to the Parliament, and leave thoſe whom the Parliament called Delinquents (which were none but the King's beſt Subjects) to their Mercy, and paſs ſuch Bills, as they ſhould adviſe him; would you not have the King ſet forth Declarations and Proclamations againſt the Illegality of their Ordinances, by which they Levied Soldiers againſt him, and anſwer thoſe inſolent Petitions of theirs?

B. No; it had done him no good before, and therefore was not likely to do him any afterwards: for the common people, whoſe hands were to decide the Controverſie, underſtood not the Reaſons of either Party; and for thoſe, that by Ambition were once ſet upon the Enterprize of changing the Government, they cared not much what was Reaſon and Juſtice in the Cauſe, but what ſtrength they might procure by reducing the Multitude with Remonſtrances from the Parliament Houſe, or by Sermons in the Churches. And to their Petitions I would not have had any Anſwer made at all, more than this; that if they would disband their Army, and put themſelves upon his Mercy, they ſhould find him more Gracious than they expected. *A.* That

A. That had been a gallant Anſwer indeed, if it had proceeded from him, after ſome extraordinary great Victory in Battle, or ſome extraordinary aſſurance of a Victory at laſt in the whole War.

B. Why? What could have hap'ned to him worſe than at length he ſuffered, notwithſtanding his gentle Anſwers, and all his reaſonable Declarations?

A. Nothing; but who knew that?

B. Any man might ſee, that he was never like to be reſtored to his Right without Victory; and ſuch his ſtoutneſs being known to the People, would have brought to his aſſiſtance many more hands than all the Arguments of Law, or force of Eloquence couched in Declarations, and other Writings could have done by far: and I wonder what kind of Men they were that hindered the King from taking this Reſolution?

A. You may know by the Declarations themſelves, which are very long and full of quotations of Records, and of Caſes formerly Reported; that the Penners of them were either Lawyers by profeſſion, or ſuch Gentlemen as had the Ambition to be thought ſo. Beſides, I told you before, that thoſe which were then likelieſt to have their Counſel asked in this buſineſs, were averſe to abſolute Monarchy, as alſo to abſolute Democracy or Ariſtocracy; all which Govern-

Governments they esteemed Tyranny, and were in love with Monarchy, which they used to praise by the Name of mixt Monarchy, though it were indeed nothing else but pure Anarchy. And those Men, whose Pens the King most used in these Controversies of Law and Politicks, were such (if I have not been misinformed) as having been Members of this Parliament, had declaimed against Ship-Money, and other Extraparliamentary Taxes, as much as any; but when they saw the Parliament grow higher in their Demands, than they thought they would have done, went over to the King's Party.

B. Who were those?

A. It is not necessary to name any man, seeing I have undertaken only a short Narration of the follies and other faults of men, during this trouble; but not (by naming the persons) to give you, or any man else occasion to esteem them the less, now that the faults on all sides have been forgiven.

B. When the business was brought to this height by Levying of Soldiers and seizing of the Navy, and Arms, and other Provisions on both sides, that no man was so blind as not to see, they were in an estate of War one against another; why did not the King (by Proclamation or Message) according to his undoubted Right, dissolve the Parliament, and

and thereby diminiſh, in ſome part, the Authority of their Levies, and of other their unjuſt Ordinances?

A. You have forgotten that I told you, that the King himſelf by a Bill that he paſſed at the ſame time, when he paſſed the Bill for the Execution of the Earl of *Strafford*, had given them Authority to hold the Parliament till they ſhould, by conſent of both Houſes, diſſolve themſelves. If therefore he had by any Proclamation, or Meſſage to the Houſes, diſſolved them, they would, to their former defamations of his Majeſties Actions, have added this, that he was a breaker of his word; and not only in contempt of him have continued their Seſſion, but alſo have made advantage of it, to the increaſe and ſtrengthening of their own Party.

B. Would not the King's raiſing of an Army againſt them be interpreted, as a purpoſe to diſſolve them by force? And was it not as great a breach of promiſe to ſcatter them by force, as to diſſolve them by Proclamation? Beſides, I cannot conceive, that the paſſing of that Act was otherwiſe intended than conditionally; ſo long as they ſhould not ordain any thing contrary to the Sovereign Right of the King; which Condition they had already by many of their Ordinances broken. And I think, that even

by the Law of Equity, which is the unalterable Law of Nature, a man that has the Sovereign Power, cannot, if he would, give away the Right of any thing which is neceſſary for him to retain for the good Government of his Subjects, unleſs he do it in expreſs words, ſaying, That he will have the Sovereign Power no longer. For the giving away that, which by conſequence only draws the Sovereignty along with it, is not (I think) a giving away of the Sovereignty; but an error, ſuch as works nothing but an invalidity in the Grant it ſelf. And ſuch was the King's paſſing of this Bill for the continuing of the Parliament as long as the two Houſes pleaſed. But now that the War was reſolved on, on both ſides; what needed any more diſpute in writing?

A. I know not what need they had, but on both ſides they thought it needful to hinder one another, as much as they could, from Levying of Soldiers? and therefore the King did ſet forth Declarations in print to make the People know, that they ought not to obey the Officers of the new Militia, ſet up by Ordinance of Parliament, and alſo to let them ſee the Legality of his own Commiſſions of Array. And the Parliament on their part did the like to juſtifie to the People the ſaid Ordinance, and to make the Commiſſion of Array appear unlawful.

B. When

B. When the Parliament were Levying of Soldiers, was it not lawful for the King to Levy Soldiers to defend himself and his Right, though there had been no other Title for it, but his own Preservation, and that the Name of Commission of Array had never before been heard of?

A. For my part (I think) there cannot be a better Title for War, than the defence of a man's own Right; but the People, at that time, thought nothing lawful for the King to do, for which there was not some Statute made by Parliament. For the Lawyers, I mean the Judges of the Courts at *Westminster*, and some few others, though but Advocates, yet of great reputation for their skill in the Common Laws and Statutes of *England*, had infected most of the Gentry of *England* with their Maxims and Cases prejudged, which they call Presidents; and made them think so well of their own knowledge in the Law, that they were very glad of this occasion to shew it against the King, and thereby to gain a Reputation with the Parliament of being good Patriots, and wise States-men.

B. What was this Commission of Array?

A. King *William* the Conqueror had gotten into his hands by Victory all the Land in *England*, of which he disposed some

part, as Foreſts and Chaſes for his Recreation, and ſome part to Lords and Gentlemen that had aſſiſted him, or were to aſſiſt him in the Wars: upon which he laid a charge of Service in his Wars, ſome with more men, and ſome with leſs, according to the Lands he had given them, whereby, when the King ſent men unto them with Commiſſion, to make uſe of their Service, they were obliged to appear with Arms, and to accompany the King to the Wars for a certain time, at their own charges: and ſuch were the Commiſſions by which this King did then make his Levies.

B. Why then was it not legal?

A. No doubt but it was legal: but what did that amount to with men that were already reſolv'd to acknowledge for Law nothing that was againſt their Deſign of aboliſhing Monarchy, and placing a Sovereign and abſolute arbitrary Power in the Houſe of Commons.

B. To deſtroy Monarchy, and ſet up the Houſe of Commons are two buſineſſes,

A. They found it ſo at laſt, but did not think it ſo then.

B. Let us now come to the Military part.

A. I intended only the Story of their Injuſtice, Impudence and Hypocriſie; therefore for the proceeding of the War, I refer you

you to the Hiſtory thereof written at large in *Engliſh*. I ſhall only make uſe of ſuch a thread as is neceſſary for the filling up of ſuch knavery and folly alſo, as I ſhall obſerve in their ſeveral Actions.

From *York* the King went to *Hull*, where was his Magazine of Arms for the Northern parts of *England*, to try if they would admit him. The Parliament had made Sir *John Hotham* Governour of the Town, who cauſed the Gates to be ſhut, and preſenting himſelf upon the Walls, flatly denied him entrance; for which the King cauſed him to be proclaimed Traitor; and ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament to know if they owned the Action.

B. Upon what Grounds?

A. Their pretence was this, that neither this, nor any other Town in *England* was otherwiſe the King's, than in truſt for the People of *England*.

B. But what was that to the Parliament?

B. Yes, ſay they; for we are the Repreſentatives of the People of *England*.

B. I cannot ſee the force of this Argument. We repreſent the People, *ergo* all that the People has is ours. The Major of *Hull* did repreſent the King; is therefore all that the King had in *Hull* the Major's? The People of *England* may be repreſented

with Limitations, as to deliver a Petition or the like: Does it follow, that they who deliver the Petition have right to all the Towns in *England*? When began this Parliament to be a Repreſentative of *England*? Was it not *November* 3. 1640.? Who was it the day before, that is *November* 2. that had the Right to keep the King out of *Hull*, and poſſeſs it for themſelves? for there was then no Parliament. Whoſe was *Hull* then?

A. I think it was the King's, not only becauſe it was called the King's Town upon *Hull*; but becauſe the King himſelf did then and ever repreſent the Perſon of the People of *England*. If he did not, who then did, the Parliament having no being?

B. They might perhaps ſay, the People had then no Repreſentative.

A. Then there was no Common-wealth; and conſequently all the Towns of *England* being the Peoples, you and I, and any man elſe might have put in for his ſhare. You may ſee by this what weak People they were, that were carried into the Rebellion by ſuch reaſoning as the Parliament uſed, and how impudent they were that did put ſuch fallacies upon them.

B. Surely they were ſuch as were eſteemed the wiſeſt Men in *England*, being upon that account choſen to be of the Parliament.

A. And

A. And were they alſo eſteemed the wiſeſt Men of *England* that choſe them?

B. I cannot tell that: for I know it is uſual with the Free-holders in the Counties, and the Tradeſ-men in the Cities and Burroughs, to chooſe, as near as they can, ſuch as are moſt repugnant to the giving of Subſidies.

A. The King in the beginning of *Auguſt*, after he had ſummoned *Hull*, and tried ſome of the Counties thereabout, what they would do for him, ſets up his Standard at *Nottingham*; but there came not in thither men enough to make an Army ſufficient to give battle to the Earl of *Eſſex*. From thence he went to *Shrewsbury*, where he was quickly furniſhed; and appointing the Earl of *Lindſey* to be General, he reſolved to march towards *London*. The Earl of *Eſſex* was now at *Worceſter* with the Parliaments Army, making no offer to ſtop him in his paſſage; but as ſoon as he was gone by, marched cloſe after him.

The King therefore, to avoid being incloſed between the Army of the Earl of *Eſſex* and the City of *London*, turned upon him, and gave him battle at *Edgehill*; where though he got not an entire Victory, yet he had the better, if either had the better, and had certainly the fruit of a Victory, which was to march on in his intended way

towards *London*; in which, the next morning he took *Banbury* Caſtle, and from thence went to *Oxford*, and thence to *Brainford*, where he gave a great defeat to three Regiments of the Parliaments Forces, and ſo returned to *Oxford*.

B. Why did not the King go on from *Brainford*?

A. The Parliament upon the firſt notice of the King's marching from *Shrewsbury*, cauſed all the Train'd-Bands, and the Auxiliaries of the City of *London*, (which was ſo frighted as to ſhut up all their Shops) to be drawn forth; ſo that there was a moſt compleat and numerous Army ready for the Earl of *Eſſex* that was crept into *London* juſt at the time to head it; and this was it that made the King retire to *Oxford*. In the beginning of *February* after, Prince *Rupert* took *Cirenceſter* from the Parliament with many Priſoners and many Arms: for it was newly made a Magazine. And thus ſtood the buſineſs between the King's and the Parliaments greateſt Forces. The Parliament in the mean time cauſed a Line of Communication to be made about *London* and the Suburbs, of twelve miles in compaſs, and conſtituted a Committee for the Aſſociation, and the putting into a poſture of defence of the Counties of *Eſſex*, *Cambridge*, *Suffolk*, and ſome others, and one of

of theſe Commiſſioners was *Oliver Cromwel*, from which Employment he came to his following greatneſs.

B. What was done, during this time, in other parts of the Country?

A. In the Weſt the Earl of *Stamford* had the Employment of putting in execution the Ordinance of Parliament for the Militia; and Sir *Ralph Hopton* for the King executed the Commiſſion of Array. Between theſe two was fought a Battle at *Liſcard* in *Cornwal*, wherein Sir *Ralph Hopton* had the Victory, and preſently took a Town called *Saltaſh* with many Arms, and much Ordnance, and many Priſoners. Sir *William Waller* in the mean time ſeized *Wincheſter* and *Chicheſter* for the Parliament.

In the North, for the Commiſſion of Array my Lord of *New-Caſtle*, and for the Militia of the Parliament was my Lord *Fairfax*. My Lord of *New-Caſtle* took from the Parliament *Tadcaſter*, in which were a great part of the Parliaments Forces for that Country, and had made himſelf in a manner Maſter of all the North. About this time, that is to ſay, in *February*, the Queen landed at *Barlington*, and was conducted by my Lord of *New Caſtle*, and the Marqueſs of *Montroſſe*, to *York*, and not long after to the King. Divers other little advantages, beſides theſe, the King's Party had of the Parliaments in the North. There

There happened alſo between the Militia of the Parliament, and the Commiſſion of Array in *Stafford-ſhire*, under my Lord *Brook* for the Parliament, and my Lord of *Northampton* for the King, great contention, wherein both theſe Commanders were ſlain; for my Lord *Brook* beſieging *Litchfield*-Cloſe, was killed with a Shot; notwithſtanding which they gave not over the Siege till they were Maſters of the Cloſe; but preſently after my Lord of *Northampton* beſieged it again for the King; which to relieve Sir *William Brereton* and Sir *John Gell*, advanced towards *Litchfield*, and were met at *Hopton*-Heath by the Earl of *Northampton*, and routed; the Earl himſelf was ſlain; but his Forces, with Victory, returned to the Siege again, and ſhortly after ſeconded by Prince *Rupert*, who was then abroad in that Countrey, carried the Place. Theſe were the chief Actions of this year 1642. wherein the King's Party had not much the worſe.

B. But the Parliament had now a better Army; in ſo much, that if the Earl of *Eſſex* had immediately followed the King to *Oxford*, (not yet well fortified) he might, in all likelihood, have taken it: for he could not want either Men, or Ammunition, whereof the City of *London* (which was wholly at the Parliaments Devotion) had ſtore enough.

A. I cannot judge of that; but this is manifeſt, conſidering the eſtate the King was in at his firſt marching from *York*, when he had neither Money, nor Men, nor Arms enough to put them in hope of Victory; that this year (take it all together) was very proſperous.

B. But what great folly or wickedneſs do you obſerve in the Parliaments Actions for this firſt year?

A. All that can be ſaid againſt them in that Point, will be excuſed with the pretext of War, and come under one name of Rebellion; ſaving, that when they ſummoned any Town, it was always in the name of King and Parliament, the King being in the contrary Army, and many times beating them from the Siege. I do not ſee how the right of War can juſtifie ſuch Impudence as that. But they pretended that the King was always virtually in the two Houſes of Parliament, making a diſtinction between his Perſon Natural and Politick, which made the Impudence the greater, beſides the folly of it: for this was but an Univerſity quibble, ſuch as Boys make uſe of in maintaining (in the Schools) ſuch Tenents, as they cannot otherwiſe defend.

In the end of this year they ſolicited alſo the *Scots* to enter *England* with an Army,

to

to ſuppreſs the Power of the Earl of *New-Caſtle* in the North; which was a plain Confeſſion, that the Parliaments Forces were at this time inferior to the King's; and moſt men thought, that if the Earl of *New-Caſtle* had then marched Southward, and joyned his Forces with the King's, that moſt of the Members of Parliament would have fled out of *England.*

In the beginning of 1643. the Parliament ſeeing the Earl of *New Caſtle*'s Power in the North grown ſo formidable, ſent to the *Scots* to hire them to an Invaſion of *England*, and (to complement them in the mean time) made a Covenant amongſt themſelves, ſuch as the *Scots* had before taken againſt Epiſcopacy, and demoliſhed Croſſes and Church-windows (ſuch as had in them any Images of Saints) throughout all *England.* Alſo in the middle of the year they made a ſolemn League with the Nation, which was called the Solemn League and Covenant.

B. Are not the *Scots* as properly to be called Forreigners as the *Iriſh?* Seeing then they perſecuted the Earl of *Strafford* even to death, for adviſing the King to make uſe of *Iriſh* Forces againſt the Parliament, with what face could they call in a *Scoth* Army againſt the King?

A. The

A. The King's Party might eaſily here have diſcerned their Deſign to make themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Kingdom, and to dethrone the King. Another great Impudence, or rather a beſtial incivility it was of theirs, that they voted the Queen a Traitor, for helping the King with ſome Ammunition and *Engliſh* Forces from *Holland.*

B. Was it poſſible that all this could be done, and men not ſee that Papers and Declarations muſt be uſeleſs; and that nothing could ſatisfie them but the depoſing of the King, and ſetting up of themſelves in his place?

A. Yes; very poſſible. For who was there of them, though knowing that the King had the Sovereign Power, that knew the Eſſential Rights of Sovereignty? They dreamt of a mixt Power of the King and the two Houſes. That it was a divided Power, in which there could be no peace, was above their underſtanding. Therefore they were always urging the King to Declarations and Treaties, (for fear of ſubjecting themſelves to the King in an abſolute obedience) which increaſed the hope and courage of the Rebels, but did the King little good: for the People either underſtand not, or will not trouble themſelves with Controverſies in writing, but rather by his Compliance and Meſſages go away with an opinion,

nion, that the Parliament was likely to have the Victory in the War. Beſides, ſeeing the Penners and Contrivers of theſe Papers were formerly Members of the Parliament, and of another mind, and now revolted from the Parliament, becauſe they could not bear that ſway in the Houſe, which they expected, men were apt to think they believed not what they writ.

As for Military Actions (to begin at the Head Quarters) Prince *Rupert* took *Brimingiam*, a Garriſon of the Parliaments. In *July* after the King's Forces had a great Victory over the Parliaments near *Devizes* on *Roundway-down*, where they took 2000 Priſoners, four Braſs Pieces of Ordnance, 28 Colours, and all their Baggage; and ſhortly after *Briſtol* was ſurrendred to Prince *Rupert* for the King: and the King himſelf marching into the Weſt, took from the Parliament many other conſiderable places.

But this good fortune was not a little allayed by his beſieging of *Glocester*, which after it was reduced to the laſt gaſp, was relieved by the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Army was before greatly waſted, but now ſuddenly recruited with the Train'd-Bands and Apprentices of *London*.

B. It ſeems, not only by this, but alſo by many Examples in Hiſtory, that there can hardly ariſe a long or dangerous Rebellion,

bellion, that has not ſome ſuch overgrown City, with an Army or two in its belly to foment it.

A. Nay more; thoſe great Capital Cities, when Rebellion is upon pretence of Grievances, muſt needs be of the Rebel-party, becauſe the Grievances are but Taxes, to which Citizens, that is, Merchants, whoſe profeſſion is their private gain, are naturally mortal Enemies; their only glory being to grow exceſſively rich by the wiſdom of buying and ſelling.

B. But they are ſaid to be of all Callings the moſt beneficial to the Commonwealth, by ſetting the poorer ſort of People on work.

A. That is to ſay, by making poor People ſell their labour to them, at their own prizes; ſo that poor People, for the moſt part, might get a better Living by working in *Bridewel*, than by ſpinning, weaving, and other ſuch labour, as they can do; ſaving that by working ſlightly they may help themſelves a little, to the diſgrace of our Manufacture. And as moſt commonly they are the firſt Encouragers of Rebellion, preſuming of their ſtrength; ſo alſo are they, for the moſt part, the firſt to repent, deceived by them that command their ſtrength.

But

But to return to the War; though the King withdrew from *Gloceſter*, yet it was not to fly from, but to fight with the Earl of *Eſſex*, which preſently after he did at *Newbury*, where the Battle was bloody, and the King had not the worſt, unleſs *Cirenceſter* be put into the Scale, which the Earl of *Eſſex* had in his way a few days before ſurprized.

But in the North and the Weſt the King had much the better of the Parliament, for in the North, at the very beginning of the year *March 29th* the Earls of *New-Caſtle* and *Cumberland* defeated the Lord *Fairfax* (who commanded in thoſe parts for the Parliament) at *Bramham-Moore*, which made the Parliament to haſten the aſſiſtance of the *Scots*.

In *June* following, the Earl of *New-Caſtle* routed Sir *Thomas Fairfax* (Son to the Lord *Fairfax*) upon *Adderton-Heath*, and in purſuit of them to *Bradford*, took and kill'd 2000 Men, and the next day took the Town and 2000 Priſoners more, (Sir *Thomas* himſelf hardly eſcaping) with all their Arms and Ammunition. And beſides this, made the Lord *Fairfax* quit *Halifax* and *Beverly*. Laſtly, Prince *Rupert* reliev-ed *Newark*, beſieged by Sir *John Meldrun*, for the Parliament, with 7000 Men, where-of 1000 were ſlain; the reſt upon Articles de-

departed, leaving behind them their Arms, Bag and Baggage.

To ballance in part this ſucceſs, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, whoſe Lieutenant-General was *Oliver Cromwel*, got a Victory over the Royaliſts near *Horncaſtle*, of whom he ſlew 400, took 800 Priſoners, and 1000 Arms, and preſently after took and plundred the City of *Lincoln*.

In the Weſt *May 16th*, Sir *Ralph Hopton* at *Stratton* in *Devonſhire*, had a Victory over the Parliamentarians, wherein he took 1700 Priſoners, 13 Braſs Pieces of Ordnance, and all their Ammunition, which was 70 Barrels of Powder, and their Magazine of their other Proviſions in the Town.

Again at *Landſdown*, between Sir *Ralph Hopton* and the Parliamentarians, under Sir *William Waller*, was fought a fierce Battle, wherein the Victory was not very clear on either ſide; ſaving that the Parliamentarians might ſeem to have the better, becauſe preſently after Sir *William Waller* followed Sir *Ralph Hopton* to *Devizes* in *Wiltſhire*, though to his Coſt; for there he was overthrown, as I have already told you.

After this the King in Perſon marched into the Weſt, and took *Exeter*, *Dorceſter*, *Barnſtable*, and divers other places, and had he not at his return beſieged *Gloceſter*, and

thereby given the Parliament time for new Levies, 'twas thought by many he might have routed the Houſe of Commons. But the end of this year was more favourable to the Parliament; for in *January* the *Scots* entred *England*, and *March* the firſt croſſed the *Tyne*, and whilſt the Earl of *New-Caſtle* was marching to them, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* gathered together a conſiderable Party in *York-ſhire*, and the Earl of *Mancheſter* from *Lyn* advanced towards *York*; ſo that the Earl of *New-Caſtle* having two Armies of the Rebels behind him, and another before him, was forced to retreat to *York*, which thoſe three Armies joyning preſently beſieged; and theſe are all the conſiderable Military Actions of the Year 1643.

In the ſame Year the Parliament cauſed to be made a new Great Seal. The Lord Keeper had carried the former Seal to *Oxford*. Hereupon the King ſent a Meſſenger to the Judges at *Weſtminſter*, to forbid them to make uſe of it. This Meſſenger was taken, and condemn'd at a Councel of War, and hang'd for a Spy.

B. Is that the Law of War?

A. I know not: but it ſeems, when a Soldier comes into the Enemies Quarters without addreſs, or notice given to the Chief Commander, that it is preſumed he comes as a Spy. The ſame Year, when certain Gen-

Gentlemen at *London* receiv'd a Commiſſion of Array from the King, to Levy Men for his Service in that City, being diſcovered, they were condemn'd, and ſome of them executed. This Caſe is not much unlike the former.

B. Was not the making of a new Great Seal a ſufficient proof that the War was raiſed, not to remove evil Councellors from the King, but to remove the King himſelf from the Government? What hope then could there be had in Meſſages and Treaties?

A. The Entrance of the *Scots* was a thing unexpected to the King, who was made to believe, by continual Letters from his Commiſſioner in *Scotland*, Duke *Hamilton*, that the *Scotch* never intended any Invaſion. The Duke being then at *Oxford*, the King (aſſur'd that the *Scotch* were now entred) ſent him Priſoner to *Pendennis* Caſtle in *Cornwal*.

In the beginning of the Year 1644. the Earl of *New-Caſtle* being (as I told you) beſieged by the joynt Forces of the *Scots*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the King ſent Prince *Rupert* to relieve the Town, and as ſoon as he could to give the Enemy battle. Prince *Rupert* paſſing through *Lancaſhire*, and by the way having ſtormed that ſeditious Town of *Bolton*, and

taken in *Stockford* and *Leverpool*, came to *York*, *July* the first, and relieved it; the Enemy being risen thence to a place called *Marston-Moor*, about four Miles off; and there was fought that unfortunate Battle, which lost the King in a manner all the North. Prince *Rupert* returned by the way he came, and the Earl of *New-Castle* to *York*, and thence with some of his Officers over the Sea to *Hamburgh*.

The Honour of this Victory was attributed chiefly to *Oliver Cromwel* (the Earl of *Mancheſter* Lieutenant-General.) The Parliamentarians returned from the Field to the Siege of *York*, which not long after, upon honourable Articles, was surrendred; not that they were favoured, but because the Parliament employed not much time, nor many Men in Sieges.

B. This was a great and sudden abatement of the King's prosperity.

A. It wat so: but amends was made him for it within five or six weeks after. For Sir *William Waller* (after the loss of his Army at *Roundway-down*) had another raised for him by the City of *London*; who for the payment thereof, imposed a weekly Tax of the value of one meals meat upon every Citizen. This Army, with that of the Earl of *Essex*, intended to besiege *Oxford*; which the King understanding, sent the Queen into the

the Weſt, and marched himſelf towards *Worceſter*. This made them to divide again, and the Earl to go into the Weſt, and *Waller* to purſue the King. By this means (as it fell out) both their Armies were defeated; for the King turned upon *Waller*, routed him at *Copredy-Bridge*, took his Train of Artillery and many Officers; and then preſently followed the Earl of *Eſſex* into *Cornwal*, where he had him at ſuch advantage, that the Earl himſelf was fain to eſcape in a ſmall Boat to *Plimouth*; his Horſe brake through the King's Quarters by night; but the Infantry were all forced to lay down their Arms, and upon condition never more to bear Arms againſt the King, were permitted to depart.

In *October* following was fought a ſecond and ſharp Battle at *Newbury*: for this Infantry, making no Conſcience of the Conditions made with the King, being now come towards *London*, as far as *Baſingſtoke*, had Arms put again into their hands; to whom ſome of the Train'd-Bands being added, the Earl of *Eſſex* had ſuddenly ſo great an Army, that he attempted the King again at *Newbury*. And certainly had the better of the day, but the night parting them, had not a compleat Victory. And it was obſerv'd here, that no part of the Earl's Army fought ſo keenly, as they who had laid down

their Arms in *Cornwal.* Theſe were the moſt important Fights in the Year 1644. and the King was yet (as both himſelf and others thought) in as good condition as the Parliament, which deſpair'd of Victory by the Commanders they then uſed.

Therefore they voted a new modeling of the Army, ſuſpecting the Earl of *Eſſex*, though I think wrongfully, to be too much a Royaliſt; for not having done ſo much as they looked for in this ſecond Battle at *Newbury.* The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Mancheſter* perceiving what they went about, voluntarily laid down their Commiſſions; and the Houſe of Commons made an Ordinance, That no Member of either Houſe ſhould enjoy any Office, or Command Military or Civil; with which oblique blow they ſhook off thoſe that had hitherto ſerved them too well: and yet out of this Ordinance they excepted *Oliver Cromwel*, in whoſe Conduct and Valor they had very great confidence, (which they would not have done, if they had known him as well then as they did afterwards) and made him Lieutenant-General to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, their new made General. In the Commiſſion to the Earl of *Eſſex* there was a Clauſe for preſervation of his Majeſties Perſon, which in this new Commiſſion was left out; though the Parliament (as well as the General) were as yet Presbyterian.

B. It ſeems the Presbyterians alſo (in order to their ends) would fain have had the King murdered.

A. For my part I doubt it not. For a Rightful King living, an uſurping Power can never be ſufficiently ſecur'd.

In this ſame Year the Parliament put to death Sir *John Hotham* and his Son, for tampering with the Earl of *New-Caſtle* about the Rendition of *Hull*; and Sir *Alexander Carew*, for endeavouring to deliver up *Plimouth*, where he was Governour for the Parliament; and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* for nothing, but to pleaſe the *Scots*: For the general Article of going about to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Land, was no Accuſation, but only foul words. They then alſo voted down the Book of Common-Prayer, and ordered the uſe of a Directory, which had been newly compoſed by an Aſſembly of Presbyterian Miniſters. They were alſo then, with much ado, prevailed with for a Treaty with the King at *Uxbridge*, where they remitted nothing of their former Demands. The King had alſo at this time a Parliament at *Oxford*, conſiſting of ſuch diſcontented Members as had left the Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, but few of them had changed their old Principles, and therefore that Parliament was not much worth. Nay rather, becauſe

they endeavour'd nothing but Meſſages and Treaties, that is to ſay, defeating of the Soldiers hope of benefit by the War, they were thought by moſt men to do the King more hurt than good.

The Year 1645. was to the King very unfortunate; for by the loſs of one great Battle he loſt all he had formerly gotten, and at length his life.

The new model'd Army, after Conſultation whether they ſhould lay Siege to *Oxford*, or march Weſtward to the relief of *Taunton*, (then beſieged by the Lord *Goring*, and defended by *Blake*, famous afterward for his Actions at Sea) reſolved for *Taunton*, leaving *Cromwel* to attend the motions of the King, though not ſtrong enough to hinder him. The King, upon this advantage, drew his Forces and Artillery out of *Oxford*. This made the Parliament to call back their General *Fairfax*, and order him to beſiege *Oxford*. The King, in the mean time, relieved *Cheſter*, which was beſieged by Sir *William Brereton*, and coming back took *Leiceſter* by force; a Place of great Importance, and well provided of Artillery and Proviſion.

Upon this Succeſs it was generally thought, that the King's Party was the ſtronger. The King himſelf thought ſo, and the Parliament in a manner confeſs'd the ſame,

ſame, by commanding *Fairfax* to riſe from the Siege, and endeavour to give the King battle: for the Succeſſes of the King, and the Diviſions and Treacheries growing now amongſt themſelves, had driven them to rely upon the fortune of one day; in which at *Naſeby* the Kings Army was utterly overthrown, and no hope left him to raiſe another. Therefore, after the Battle, he went up and down, doing the Parliament here and there ſome ſhrewd turns, but never much encreaſing his number.

Fairfax, in the mean time, firſt recovered *Leiceſter*, and then marching into the Weſt ſubdued it all, except only a few Places; forcing, with much ado, my Lord *Hopton* (upon Honourable Conditions) to disband his Army, and with the Prince of *Wales* to paſs over to *Scilly*, whence, not long after, they went to *Paris*.

In *April* 1646. General *Fairfax* began to march back to *Oxford*. In the mean time *Rainsborough*, who beſieged *Woodſtock*, had it ſurrendred. The King therefore, who was now alſo returned to *Oxford*, from whence *Woodſtock* is but ſix Miles, not doubting, but that he ſhould there by *Fairfax* be beſieged, and having no Army to relieve him, reſolved to get away diſguis'd to the *Scotch* Army about *Newark*; and thither he came the fourth of *May*; and the

Scotch

Scotch Army being upon remove homewards, carried him with them to *New-Caſtle*, whither he came *May* 13*th*.

B. Why did the King truſt himſelf with the *Scots*? They were the firſt that rebell'd. They were Presbyterians, *i. e.* cruel; beſides they were indigent, and conſequently might be ſuſpected, would ſell him to his Enemies for Money. And laſtly, they were too weak to defend him, or keep him in their Countrey.

A. What could he have done better? for he had in the Winter before ſent to the Parliament to get a Paſs for the Duke of *Richmond* and others, to bring them Propoſitions of Peace: It was denied. He ſent again; it was denied again. Then he deſir'd he might come to them in Perſon: This alſo was denied. He ſent again and again to the ſame purpoſe; but in ſtead of granting it, they made an Ordinance, That the Commanders of the Militia of *London*, in caſe the King ſhould attempt to come within the Line of Communication, ſhould raiſe what force they thought fit to ſuppreſs Tumults, to apprehend ſuch as came with him, and to ſecure (*i. e.* to impriſon) his Perſon from danger. If the King had adventured to come, and had been impriſoned; What could the Parliament have done with him? They had dethron'd him by

their

their Votes; and therefore could have no ſecurity, whilſt he liv'd, though in priſon. It may be they would not have put him to death by a High Court of Juſtice publickly, but ſecretly ſome other way.

B. He ſhould have attempted to get beyond Sea.

A. That had been from *Oxford* very difficult. Beſides it was generally believ'd, that the *Scotch* Army had promiſed him, that not only his Majeſty, but alſo his Friends that ſhould come with him, ſhould be in their Army ſafe; not only for their Perſons, but alſo for their Honours and Conſciences. 'Tis a pretty trick, when the Army, and the particular Soldiers of the Army are different things, to make the Soldiers promiſe what the Army means not to perform.

July the 11*th* the Parliament ſent their Propoſitions to the King at *New-Caſtle*; which Propoſitions they pretended to be the only way to a ſetled and well grounded Peace. They were brought by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Walter Earle*, Sir *John Hyppeſly*, Mr. *Goodwin* and Mr. *Robinſon*; whom the King asked if they had power to Treat? and when they ſaid no, why they might not as well have been ſent by a Trumpeter? The Propoſitions were the ſame dethroning ones, which they uſed

to

to ſend, and therefore the King would not aſſent to them. Nor did the *Scots* ſwallow them at firſt, but made ſome exceptions againſt them; only, it ſeems, to make the Parliament perceive, they meant not to put the King into their hands *gratis*. And ſo at laſt the bargain was made between them; and upon the payment of 200000 *l.* the King was put into the hands of the Commiſſioners, which the *Engliſh* Parliament ſent down to receive him.

B. What a vile Complexion has this Action compounded of feigned Religion and very Covetouſneſs, Cowardice, Perjury and Treachery?

A. Now the War, that ſeemed to juſtifie many unſeemly things, is ended; you will ſee almoſt nothing elſe in theſe Rebels, but baſeneſs and falſeneſs, beſides their folly.

By this time the Parliament had taken in all the reſt of the Kings Garriſons, whereof the laſt was *Pendennis* Caſtle, whither Duke *Hamilton* had been ſent Priſoner by the King.

B. What was done during this time in *Ireland* and *Scotland*?

A. In *Ireland* there had been a Peace made by order from his Majeſty for a time, which by Diviſions amongſt the *Iriſh* was ill kept; the Popiſh Party (the Pope's Nuntio being

being then there) took this to be the time for delivering themſelves from their ſubjection to the *Engliſh*. Beſides the time of the Peace was now expir'd.

B. How were they ſubject to the *Engliſh* more than the *Engliſh* to the *Iriſh*? They were ſubject to the King of *England*; but ſo alſo were the *Engliſh* to the King of *Ireland*.

A. This Diſtinction is ſomewhat too ſubtil for common Underſtandings. In *Scotland* the Marqueſs of *Montroſſe* for the King, with a very few Men, and miraculous Victories, had over-run all *Scotland*, where many of his Forces (out of too much ſecurity) were permitted to be abſent for a while; of which the Enemy having Intelligence, ſuddenly came upon them, and forced them to fly back into the Highlands to recruit; where he began to recover ſtrength, when he was commanded by the King (then in the hands of the *Scots* at *New-Caſtle*) to disband; and he departed from *Scotland* by Sea.

In the end of the ſame year 1646. the Parliament cauſed the Kings Great Seal to be broken; alſo the King was brought to *Holmeby*, and there kept by the Parliaments Commiſſioners; and here was an end of that War, as to *England* and *Scotland*, but not to *Ireland*. About this time alſo died

died the Earl of *Eſſex*, whom the Parliament had diſcarded.

B. Now that there was peace in *England*, and the King in priſon, in whom was the Sovereign Power?

A. The Right was certainly in the King, but the Exerciſe was yet in no body; but contended for, as in a Game at Cards, without fighting all the years 1647. and 1648. between the Parliament and *Oliver Cromwel*, Lieutenant-General to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

You muſt know, that when King *Henry* the 8*th* aboliſhed the Popes Authority here, and took upon him to be the Head of the Church, the Biſhops, as they could not reſiſt him, ſo neither were they diſcontented with it. For whereas before, the Pope allowed not the Biſhops to claim Juriſdiction in their Dioceſſes *Jure Divino*, that is of Right immediately from God, but by the Gift and Authority of the Pope, now that the Pope was outed, they made no doubt but the Divine Right was in themſelves. After this the City of *Geneva*, and divers other places beyond Sea, having revolted from the Papacy, ſet up Presbyteries for the Government of their ſeveral Churches; and divers *Engliſh* Scholars that went beyond Sea, during the perſecution in the time of Queen *Mary*, were much taken with this Govern-

ment,

ment, and at their return, in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and ever ſince have endeavour'd, to the great trouble of the Church and Nation, to ſet up that Government here, wherein they might domineer, and applaud their own Wit and Learning: and theſe took upon them, not only a Divine Right, but alſo a Divine Inſpiration: and having been connived at and countenanced ſometimes in their frequent preaching, they introduced many ſtrange and many pernicious Doctrines, out-doing the Reformation, (as they pretended, both of *Luther* and *Calvin*) receding from the former Divinity or Church-Philoſophy, (for Religion is another thing) as much as *Luther* and *Calvin* had receded from the Pope, and diſtracted their Auditors into a great number of Sects, as Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, Independents, Fifth-monarchy-men, Quakers, and divers others, all commonly called by the name of Fanaticks: in ſo much as there was no ſo dangerous an Enemy to the Presbyterians as this brood of their own hatching.

Theſe were *Cromwel*'s beſt Cards, whereof he had a very great number in the Army, and ſome in the Houſe, whereof he himſelf was thought one, though he were nothing certain, but applying himſelf always to the Faction that was ſtrongeſt, was of a colour like it. There

There were in the Army a great number (if not the greateſt part) that aimed only at rapine, and ſharing the Lands and Goods of their Enemies; and theſe alſo, upon the opinion they had of *Cromwel*'s Valor and Conduct, thought they could not any way better arrive at their ends, than by adhering to him. Laſtly, in the Parliament it ſelf, though not the Major part, yet a conſiderable number were Fanaticks, enough to put in doubts, and cauſe delay in the reſolutions of the Houſe, and ſometimes alſo by advantage of a thin Houſe, to carry a Vote in favour of *Cromwel*, as they did upon the 26*th* of *July*. For whereas on the fourth of *May* precedent the Parliament had voted that the Militia of *London* ſhould be in the hands of a Committee of Citizens, whereof the Lord Major for the time being ſhould be one; ſhortly after, the Independents chancing to be the major, made an Ordinance, by which it was put into hands more favourable to the Army.

The beſt Cards the Parliament had were the City of *London*, and the Perſon of the King. The General, Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, was right Presbyterian, but in the hands of the Army, and the Army in the hands of *Cromwel*, but which Party ſhould prevail depended on the playing of the Game. *Cromwel* proteſted ſtill obedience and fidelity

to

to the Parliament, but meaning nothing leſs, bethought him, and reſolv'd on a way to excuſe himſelf of all that he ſhould do to the contrary upon the Army. Therefore he and his Son-in-law Commiſſary-General *Ireton*, as good at contriving as himſelf, and at ſpeaking and writing better, contrive how to mutiny the Army againſt the Parliament. To this end they ſpread a whiſper through the Army, that the Parliament, now they had the King, intended to disband them, to cheat them of their Arrears, and to ſend them into *Ireland* to be deſtroyed by the *Iriſh*. The Army being herewith enraged, were taught by *Ireton* to erect a Councel amongſt themſelves, of two Soldiers out of every Troop, and every Company, to Conſult for the good of the Army, and to aſſiſt at the Councel of War, and to adviſe for the Peace and ſafety of the Kingdom. Theſe were called Adjutators, ſo that whatſoever *Cromwel* would have to be done, he needed nothing to make them do it; but ſecretly to put it into the head of theſe Adjutators. The effect of the firſt Conſultation was, to take the King from *Holmeby*, and to bring him to the Army.

The General hereupon, by Letter to the Parliament, excuſes himſelf, and *Cromwel*, and the Body of the Army, as ignorant of the Fact; and that the King came away wil-

lingly with thoſe Soldiers that brought him: aſſuring them withal, that the whole Army intended nothing but Peace, nor oppoſed Presbytery, nor affected Independency, nor did hold any licentious freedom in Religion.

B. 'Tis ſtrange that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* could be ſo abuſed by *Cromwel*, as to believe this which he himſelf here writes.

A. I cannot believe that Cornet *Joyce* could go out of the Army with 1000 Soldiers to fetch the King, and neither the General, nor the Lieutenant General, nor the Body of the Army take notice of it. And that the King went willingly appears to be falſe by a Meſſage ſent on purpoſe from his Majeſty to the Parliament.

B. Here is Perfidie upon Perfidie: firſt, the Perfidie of the Parliament againſt the King, and then the Perfidie of the Army againſt the Parliament.

A. This was the firſt trick *Cromwel* plaid, whereby he thought himſelf to have gotten ſo great an advantage, that he ſaid openly, That he had the Parliament in his Pocket, (as indeed he had) and the City too: for upon the news of it they were, both the one and the other, in very great diſorder, and the more, becauſe there came with it a Rumor, that the Army was marching up to *London*.

The

The King in the mean time, till his Reſidence was ſetled at *Hampton-Court*, was carried from place to place, not without ſome oſtentation; but with much more liberty, and with more reſpect ſhewn him by far, than when he was in the Hands of the Parliaments Commiſſioners; for his own Chaplains were allowed him, and his Children, and ſome Friends permitted to ſee him. Beſides that, he was much complemented by *Cromwel*, who promiſed him, in a ſerious and ſeeming paſſionate manner, to reſtore him to his Right againſt the Parliament.

B. How was he ſure he could do that?

A. He was not ſure; but he was reſolved to march up to the City and Parliament to ſet up the King again, (and be the ſecond Man) unleſs in the attempt he found better hope, than yet he had, to make himſelf the firſt Man by diſpoſſeſſing the King.

B. What aſſiſtance againſt the Parliament and the City could *Cromwel* expect from the King.

A. By declaring directly for him, he might have had all the King's Party, which were many more now ſince his misfortune, than ever they were before: For in the Parliament it ſelf there were many that had diſcovered the Hypocriſie and private Aims of their Fellows. Many were converted to

their Duty by their own Natural Reaſon; and their Compaſſion for the King's Sufferings had begot generally an Indignation againſt the Parliament; ſo that if they had been by the Protection of the preſent Army brought together, and embodied, *Cromwel* might have done what he had pleas'd in the firſt place for the King, and in the ſecond for himſelf: but it ſeems he meant firſt to try what he could do without the King, and if that proved enough to rid his hands of him.

B. What did the Parliament and City do to oppoſe the Army?

A. Firſt, the Parliament ſent to the General to re-deliver the King to their Commiſſioners. In ſtead of an Anſwer to this, the Army ſent Articles to the Parliament, and with them a charge againſt eleven of their Members, all of them active Presbyterians: of which Articles theſe are ſome. 1. That the Houſe may be purged of thoſe, who by the ſelf denying Ordinance ought not to be there. 2. That ſuch as abuſed and endangered the Kingdom might be diſabled to do the like hereafter. 3. That a day might be appointed to determine this Parliament. 4. That they would make an Accompt to the Kingdom of the vaſt Sums of Money they had received. 5. That the eleven Members might preſently be ſuſpended

ded ſitting in the Houſe. Theſe were the Articles that put them to their Trumps, and they anſwered none of them, but that of the ſuſpenſion of the eleven Members, which they ſaid they could not do by Law, till the Particulars of the Charge were produced: but this was ſoon anſwer'd with their own proceeding againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*.

The Parliament being thus ſomewhat awed, and the King made ſomewhat confident; he undertakes the City, requiring the Parliament to put the Militia of *London* into other hands.

B. What other hands? I do not well underſtand you.

A. I told you that the Militia of *London* was, on the fourth of *May*, put into the hands of the Lord-Major and other Citizens, and ſoon after put into the hands of other men more favourable to the Army; and now I am to tell you, that on *July* the 26*th* the violence of certain Apprentices and diſbanded Soldiers forced the Parliament to re-ſettle it as it was in the Citizens; and hereupon the two Speakers and divers of the Members ran away to the Army where they were invited, and contented to ſit and vote in the Councel of War, in nature of a Parliament; and out of theſe Citizens hands they would have the Militia taken away,

and put again into thoſe hands, out of which it was taken the 26*th* of *July*.

B. What ſaid the City to this?

A. The *Londoners* manned their Works, *viz.* the Line of Communication, raiſed an Army of valiant Men within the Line, choſe good Officers, all being deſirous to go out and fight, whenſoever the City ſhould give them Order, and in that poſture ſtood expecting the Enemy.

The Soldiers in the mean time enter into an Engagement to live and die with Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, and the Parliament, and the Army.

B. That's very fine. They imitate that which the Parliament did, when they firſt took up Arms againſt the King, ſtiling themſelves the King and Parliament, maintaining that the King was always virtually in his Parliament: So the Army now making War againſt the Parliament, called themſelves the Parliament and the Army: but they might with more reaſon ſay, that the Parliament (ſince it was in *Cromwel's* Pocket) was virtually in the Army.

A. Withal they ſend out a Declaration of the Grounds of their March towards *London*; wherein they take upon them to be Judges of the Parliament, and of who are fit to be truſted with the buſineſs of the Kingdom, giving them the name, not of the

the Parliament, but of the Gentlemen at *Weſtminſter*. For ſince the violence they were under *July* the 26*th*, the Army denied them to be a Lawful Parliament. At the ſame time they ſent a Letter to the Major and Aldermen of *London*, reproaching them with thoſe late Tumults, telling them they were Enemies to the Peace, Treacherous to the Parliament, unable to defend either the Parliament or themſelves, and demanded to have the City delivered into their hands, to which purpoſe they ſaid they were now coming to them. The General alſo ſent out his Warrants to the Counties adjacent, ſummoning their Trained Soldiers to joyn with them.

B. Were the Trained Soldiers part of the General's Army?

A. No, nor at all in pay, nor could be without an Order of Parliament. But what might an Army do after it had maſtered all the Laws of the Land? The Army being come to *Hounſloe*-Heath, diſtant from *London* but ten Miles, the Court of Aldermen was called to conſider what to do. The Captains and Soldiers of the City were willing and well provided to go forth and give them battle: but a Treacherous Officer, that had charge of a Work on *Southwerk* ſide, had let in within the Li[illegible] ſmall Party of the Enemies, who marc[illegible]s far as to

the Gate of *London* Bridge, and then the Court of Aldermen (their hearts failing them) ſubmitted on theſe conditions: To relinquiſh their Militia: To deſert the eleven Members: To deliver up the Forts and Line of Communication, together with the Tower of *London*, and all Magazines and Arms therein to the Army: To disband their Forces, and turn out all the Reformadoes, *i. e.* all *Eſſex*'s old Soldiers: To draw off their Guards from the Parliament; all which was done, and the Army marched triumphantly through the principal Streets of the City.

B. 'Tis ſtrange that the Major and Aldermen having ſuch an Army, ſhould ſo quickly yield. Might they not have reſiſted the Party of the Enemy at the Bridge with a Party of their own; and the reſt of the Enemies with the reſt of their own?

A. I cannot judge of that: but to me it would have been ſtrange, if they had done otherwiſe: for I conſider the moſt part of rich Subjects, that have made themſelves ſo by Craft and Trade, as Men that never look upon any thing but their preſent profit, and who to every thing not lying in that way are in a manner blind, being amazed at the very thought of plundering. If they had underſtood what vertue there is to preſerve their Wealth in obedience to their Lawful Soye-

Sovereign, they would never have ſided with the Parliament, and ſo we had had no need of arming. The Major and Aldermen therefore being aſſured by this ſubmiſſion to ſave their Goods, and not ſure of the ſame by reſiſting, ſeem to me to have taken the wiſeſt courſe; nor was the Parliament leſs tame than the City; for preſently, *Auguſt* the ſixth, the General brought the fugitive Speakers and Members to the Houſe with a ſtrong Guard of Soldiers, and replaced the Speakers in their Chairs; and for this they gave the General thanks, not only there in the Houſe, but appointed alſo a day for a Holy Thankſgiving, and not long after made him *Generaliſſimo* of all the Forces of *England*, and Conſtable of the Tower: but in effect all this was the advancement of *Cromwel*; for he was the uſufructuary, though the property were in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*. For the Independents immediately caſt down the whole Line of Communication, divide the Militia of *London*, *Weſtminſter* and *Southwark*, which were before united; diſplaced ſuch Governours of Towns and Forts as were not for their turn, though placed there by Ordinance of Parliament, in ſtead of whom they put in Men of their own Party. They alſo made the Parliament to declare null all that had paſſed in the Houſes from *July* the 26*th* to *Auguſt* the ſixth,

ſixth, and clapt in priſon ſome of the Lords, and ſome of the moſt eminent Citizens, whereof the Lord Major was one.

B. Cromwel had power enough now to reſtore the King: Why did he not?

A. His main end was to ſet himſelf in his place. The Reſtoring of the King was but a Reſerve againſt the Parliament, which being in his Pocket, he had no more need of the King, who was now an Impediment to him. To keep him in the Army was a trouble; To let him fall into the hands of the Presbyterians had been a ſtop to his hopes; To murder him privately, (beſides the horror of the Act) now whilſt he was no more than Lieutenant-General, would have made him odious without farthering his Deſign. There was nothing better for his purpoſe, than to let him eſcape from *Hampton-Court* (where he was too near the Parliament) whither he pleaſed beyond Sea; for though *Cromwel* had a great Party in the Parliament Houſe, whilſt they ſaw not his ambition to be their Maſter, yet they would have been his Enemies, as ſoon as that had appeared. To make the King attempt an eſcape, ſome of thoſe that had him in cuſtody, by *Cromwel's* direction, told him that the Adjutators meant to murder him; and withal cauſed a Rumor of the ſame to be generally ſpread, to the end it might

that

that way alſo come to the King's Ear, as it did.

The King therefore in a dark and rainy night (his Guards being retir'd, as it was thought on purpoſe) left *Hampton-Court*, and went to the Sea-ſide about *Southampton*, where a Veſſel had been beſpoken to tranſport him, but failed; ſo that the King was forced to truſt himſelf with Collonel *Hammond*, then Governour of the Iſle of *Wight*; expecting perhaps ſome kindneſs from him for Dr. *Hammond*'s ſake, Brother to the Collonel, and his Majeſties much favour'd Chaplain: but it prov'd otherwiſe; for the Collonel ſent to his Maſters of the Parliament to receive their Orders concerning him. This going into the Iſle of *Wight* was not likely to be any part of *Cromwel*'s Deſign, who neither knew whither, nor which way he would go, nor had *Hammond* known any more than other men, if the Ship had come to the appointed place in due time.

B. If the King had eſcap'd into *France*, might not the *French* have aſſiſted him with Forces to recover his Kingdom, and ſo fruſtrated their Deſigns, both of *Cromwel*, and all the King's other Enemies?

A. Yes much; juſt as they aſſiſted his Son our preſent moſt Gracious Sovereign, who two years before fled thither out of *Cornwal*.

B. 'Tis

B. 'Tis methinks no great Politie in Neighbouring Princes to favour ſo often as they do one anothers Rebels, eſpecially when they rebel againſt Monarchy it ſelf. They ſhould rather firſt make a League againſt Rebellion, and afterwards (if there be no remedy) fight one againſt another. Nor will that ſerve the turn amongſt Chriſtian Sovereigns, till preaching be better look'd to, whereby the Interpretation of a Verſe in the Hebrew, Greek or Latin Bible, is oftentimes the cauſe of Civil War, and the Depoſing and Aſſaſſinating of God's Anointed: and yet converſe with thoſe Divinity-Diſputers as long as you will, you will hardly find one in a hundred diſcreet enough to be employed in any great affair either of War or Peace. It is not the Right of the Sovereign, though granted to him by every man's expreſs conſent, that can enable him to do his Office; it is the Obedience of the Subject that muſt do that. For what good is it to promiſe Allegiance, and then by and by to cry out, (as ſome Miniſters did in the Pulpit) *To your Tents, O Iſrael!* Common People know nothing of Right or Wrong by their own Meditation; they muſt therefore be taught the Grounds of their Duty, and the Reaſons why Calamities ever follow Diſobedience to their Lawful Sovereigns. But to the contrary our Rebels

Rebels were publickly taught Rebellion in the Pulpits; and that there was no ſin, but the doing of what the Preachers forbad, or the omiſſion of what they advis'd. But now the King was the Parliaments Priſoner, why did not the Presbyterians advance their own Intereſt by reſtoring him?

A. The Parliament, in which there were more Presbyterians yet than Independents, might have gotten what they would of the King, during his Life, if they had not by an unconſcionable and ſottiſh Ambition obſtructed the way to their Ends. They ſent him four Propoſitions to be ſigned and paſs'd by him, as Acts of Parliament, telling him when theſe were granted, they would ſend Commiſſioners to treat with him of any other Articles.

The Propoſitions were theſe. Firſt: That the Parliament ſhould have the Militia, and the Power of Levying Money to maintain it for 20 years, and after that Term, the exerciſe thereof to return to the King, in caſe the Parliament think the ſafety of the Kingdom concern'd in it.

B, The firſt Article takes from the King the Militia, and conſequently the whole Sovereignty for ever.

A. The Second was: That the King ſhould juſtifie the Proceedings of the Parliament againſt himſelf; and declare void all Oaths

Oaths and Declarations made by him againſt the Parliament.

B. This was to make him guilty of the War, and of all the Blood ſpilt therein.

A. The Third was: To take away all Titles of Honour conferred by the King, ſince the Great Seal was carried to him in *May* 1642.

The Fourth was: That the Parliament ſhould adjourn themſelves when and to what place, and for what time they pleas'd.

Theſe Propoſitions the King refuſed to grant, as he had reaſon; but ſent others of his own, not much leſs advantagious to the Parliament, and deſir'd a Perſonal Treaty with the Parliament for the ſetling of the Peace of the Kingdom; but the Parliament denying them to be ſufficient for that purpoſe, voted; That there ſhould be no more Addreſſes made to him, nor Meſſages receiv'd from him; but that they would ſettle the Kingdom without him. And this they voted partly upon the Speeches and Menaces of the Army-Faction then preſent in the Houſe of Commons: whereof one adviſed theſe Three Points.

1. To ſecure the King in ſome Inland Caſtle with Guards. 2. To draw up Articles of Impeachment againſt him. 3. To lay him by, and ſettle the Kingdom without him.

Another

Another ſaid; That his denying of the four Bills was the denying Protection to his Subjects; and that therefore they might deny him ſubjection: and added, that till the Parliament forſook the Army, the Army would never forſake the Parliament. This was threatning.

Laſt of all, *Cromwel* himſelf told them, It was now expected that the Parliament ſhould govern and defend the Kingdom, and not any longer let the People expect their ſafety from a Man, whoſe Heart God had hardned; nor let thoſe that had ſo well defended the Parliament be left hereafter to the rage of an irreconcilable Enemy, leſt they ſeek their ſafety ſome other way. This again was threatning; as alſo the laying his hand upon his Sword, when he ſpake it.

And hereupon the Vote of Non-Addreſſes was made an Ordinance; which the Houſe would afterwards have recalled, but was forced by *Cromwel* to keep their word.

The *Scotch* were diſpleaſed with it, partly becauſe their Brethren the Presbyterians had loſt a great deal of their power in *England*, and partly alſo becauſe they had ſold the King into their hands.

The King now publiſhed a paſſionate Complaint to his People of this hard dealing with

with him, which made them pity him: but not yet riſe in his behalf.

B. Was not this, think you, the true time for *Cromwel* to take poſſeſſion?

A. By no means. There were yet many obſtacles to be removed. He was not General of the Army. The Army was ſtill for a Parliament. The City of *London* diſcontented about their Militia. The *Scots* expected with an Army to reſcue the King. His Adjutators were Leavelers, and againſt Monarchy, who though they had helped him to bring under the Parliament, yet like Dogs that are eaſily taught to fetch, and not eaſily taught to render, would not make him King. So that *Cromwel* had theſe buſineſſes following to overcome, before he could formally make himſelf a Sovereign Prince.

1. To be *Generaliſſimo*. 2. To remove the King. 3. To ſuppreſs all Inſurrections here. 4. To oppoſe the *Scots*; and laſtly, To diſſolve the preſent Parliament. Mighty buſineſſes, which he could never promiſe himſelf to overcome; therefore I cannot believe he then thought to be King, but only by well ſerving the ſtrongeſt Party, (which was always his main Politie) to proceed as far as that and fortune would carry him.

B. The

B. The Parliament were certainly no leſs fooliſh than wicked in deſerting thus the King, before they had the Army at a better Command than they had.

A. In the beginning of 1648. the Parliament gave Commiſſion to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* (then made Chancellor of *Oxford*, together with ſome of the Doctors there, as good Divines as he) to purge the Univerſity, by vertue whereof they turned out all ſuch as were not of their Faction, and all ſuch as had approved the uſe of the Common-Prayer-Book; as alſo divers ſcandalous Miniſters and Scholars, (that is ſuch as cuſtomarily and without need took the Name of God into their Mouths, or uſed to ſpeak wantonly, or uſe the company of lewd Women:) And for this laſt I cannot but commend them.

B. So ſhall not I; for it is juſt ſuch another piece of piety, as to turn men out of an Hoſpital becauſe they are lame. Where can a man probably learn godlineſs, and how to correct his vices better than in the Univerſities erected for that purpoſe?

A. It may be the Parliament thought otherwiſe: for I have often heard the Complaints of Parents, that their Children were debauched there to drunkenneſs, wantonneſs, gaming, and other vices conſequent to theſe: nor is it a wonder amongſt ſo

many Youths, if they did not corrupt one another in deſpite of their Tutors, who oftentimes were little elder than themſelves. And therefore I think the Parliament did not much reverence that Inſtitution of Univerſities, as to the bringing up of young men to vertue, though many of them learned there to preach, and became thereby capable of preferment and maintenance; and ſome others were ſent thither by their Parents, to ſave themſelves the trouble of governing them at home, during that time wherein Children are leaſt governable. Nor do I think the Parliament cared more for the Clergy than other men did: but certainly an Univerſity is an excellent Servant to the Clergy; and the Clergy, if it be not carefully look'd to, (by their Diſſentions in Doctrines, and by the advantage to publiſh their Diſſentions) is an excellent means to divide a Kingdom into Factions.

B. But ſeeing there is no place in this part of the World, where Philoſophy, and other humane Sciences are not highly valued; where can they be learned better than in the Univerſities?

A. What other Sciences? Do not Divines comprehend all Civil and Moral Philoſophy within their Divinity? And as for Natural Philoſophy; is it not remov'd from *Oxford* and *Cambridge* to *Greſham-Colledge* in *London*,

don, and to be learned out of their Gazets? But we are gone from our ſubject.

B. No; we are indeed gone from the greater buſineſſes of the Kingdom; to which, if you pleaſe, let us return.

A. The firſt Inſurrection, or rather Tumult, was that of the Apprentices, on the ninth of *April*; but this was not upon the King's account, but aroſe from a Cuſtomary Aſſembly of them for Recreation in *Moorfields*, whence ſome zealous Officers of the Trained Soldiers would needs drive them away by force; but were themſelves routed with Stones; and had their Enſign taken away by the Apprentices, which they carried about in the Streets, and frighted the Lord-Major into his Houſe, where they took a Gun called a Drake, and then they ſet Guards at ſome of the Gates, and all the reſt of the day childiſhly ſwaggered up and down: but the next day the General himſelf marching into the City quickly diſperſed them. This was but a ſmall buſineſs, but enough to let them ſee that the Parliament was ill belov'd of the People.

Next the *Welch* took Arms againſt them. There were three Collonels in *Wales*, *Langhorne*, *Poyer* and *Powel*, who had formerly done the Parliament good ſervice, but now were commanded to disband; which they refuſed to do; and the better to ſtrengthen

themſelves, declared for the King, and were about 8000.

About the ſame time, in *Wales* alſo, was another Inſurrection headed by Sir *Nicholas Keymiſh*, and another under Sir *John Owen*; ſo that now all *Wales* was in Rebellion againſt the Parliament, and yet all theſe were overcome in a months time by *Cromwel* and his Officers; but not without ſtore of Bloodſhed on both ſides.

B. I do not much pity the loſs of thoſe men that impute to the King that which they do upon their own quarrel.

A. Preſently after this, ſome of the People of *Surrey* ſent a Petition to the Parliament, for a perſonal Treaty between the King and Parliament; but their Meſſengers were beaten home again by the Soldiers that quartered about *Weſtminſter* and the *Mews*. And then the *Kentiſh* Men having a like Petition to deliver, and ſeeing how ill it was like to be receiv'd, threw it away, and took up Arms. They had many gallant Officers, and for General the Earl of *Norwich*, and encreaſed daily by Apprentices and old disbanded Soldiers. In ſo much as the Parliament was glad to reſtore to the City their Militia, and to keep Guards upon the *Thames* ſide: and then *Fairfax* marched towards the Enemy.

B. And

B. And then the *Londoners*, I think, might eaſily and ſuddenly have maſtered, firſt the Parliament, and next *Fairfax* his 8000, and laſtly *Cromwel's* Army; or at leaſt have given the *Scots* Army opportunity to march unfoughten to *London.*

A. 'Tis true: but the City was never good at venturing; nor were they or the *Scots* principled to have a King over them, but under them. *Fairfax* marching with his 8000 againſt the Royaliſts, routed a part of them at *Maidſtone*; another part were taking in of places in *Kent* farther off; and the Earl of *Norwich*, with the reſt, came to *Black-heath*, and thence ſent to the City to get paſſage through it, to joyn with thoſe which were riſen in *Eſſex* under Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle*; which being denied, the greateſt part of his *Kentiſh* Men deſerted him. With the reſt, not above 500, he croſſed the *Thames* into the iſle of *Dogs*, and ſo to *Bow*, and thence to *Colcheſter*. *Fairfax* having notice of this, croſſed the *Thames* at *Graveſend*; and overtaking them, beſieged them in *Colcheſter*. The Town had no defence, but a Breaſt-work, and yet held out upon hope of the *Scotch* Army to relieve them, the ſpace of two months. Upon the news of the defeat of the *Scots*, they were forced to yield. The Earl of *Norwich* was ſent Pri-

ſoner to *London.* Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle*, two Loyal and Gallant Perſons, were ſhot to death. There was alſo another little Inſurrection headed by the Earl of *Holland*, about *Kingſton*; but quickly ſuppreſſed, and he himſelf taken Priſoner.

B. How came the *Scots* to be ſo ſoon diſpatch'd?

A. Meerly, as it is ſaid, for want of Conduct. Their Army was led by Duke *Hamilton*, who was then ſet at liberty, when *Pendennis* Caſtle, where he was Priſoner, was taken by the Parliamentarians. He entred *England* with Horſe and Foot 15000, to which came above 3000 *Engliſh* Royaliſts. Againſt theſe *Cromwel* marched out of *Wales* with Horſe and Foot 11000, and near to *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, in leſs than two hours defeated them: and the Cauſe of it is ſaid to be, that the *Scotch* Army was ſo ordered, as they could not all come to the Fight, nor relieve their Fellows. After the defeat, they had no way to fly, but farther into *England*; ſo that in the purſuit they were almoſt all taken, and loſt all that an Army can loſe; for the few that got home, did not all bring home their Swords. Duke *Hamilton* was taken, and not long after ſent to *London*: But *Cromwel* marched on to *Edenburgh*, and there by the help of the Faction, which was contrary to *Hamil-*

ton's,

ton's, he made ſure not to be hindred in his deſigns; the firſt whereof was to take away the King's Life by the Hand of the Parliament.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in the North, the Parliament (*Cromwel* being away) came to it ſelf, and recalling their Vote of Non-Addreſſes, ſent to the King new Propoſitions, ſomewhat, but not much eaſier than formerly; and upon the King's Anſwer to them, they ſent Commiſſioners to treat with him, at *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*, where they ſo long dodged with him about trifles, that *Cromwel* was come to *London*, before they had done, to the King's deſtruction. For the Army was now wholly at the devotion of *Cromwel*, who ſet the Adjutators on work again to make a Remonſtrance to the Houſe of Commons, wherein they require firſt; That the King be brought to Juſtice. 2. That the Prince and Duke of *York* be ſummoned to appear at a day appointed, and proceeded with, according as they ſhould give ſatisfaction. 3. That the Parliament ſettle the Peace and future Government, and ſet a reaſonable period to their own ſitting, and make certain future Parliaments Annual, or Biennial. 4. That a competent number of the King's Chief Inſtruments be executed. And this to be done, both by the Houſe of Commons, and by a general A-

greement of the People teſtified by their Subſcriptions. Nor did they ſtay for an Anſwer, but preſently ſet a Guard of Soldiers at the Parliament-houſe-door, and other Soldiers in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, ſuffering none to go into the Houſe, but ſuch as would ſerve their turns. All others were frighted away, or made Priſoners, and ſome upon divers quarrels ſuſpended. Above 90 of them, becauſe they had refuſed to vote againſt the *Scots*; and others, becauſe they had voted againſt the Vote of Non-Addreſſes; and the reſt were an Houſe for *Cromwel*. The Fanaticks alſo in the City, being countenanced by the Army, pack a new Common-Councel, whereof any ſorty was to be above the Major; and their firſt work was to frame a Petition for Juſtice againſt the King, which *Tichborne* the Major (involving the City in the Regicide) delivered to the Parliament.

At the ſame time, with the like violence, they took the King from *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*, to *Hurſt* Caſtle, till things were ready for his Trial. The Parliament in the mean time, to avoid perjury, by an Ordinance declared void the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and preſently after made another to bring the King to his Trial.

B. This is a piece of Law that I underſtood not before, that when many Men ſwear

ſwear ſingly, they may, when they are aſſembled (if they pleaſe) abſolve themſelves.

A. The Ordinance being drawn up was brought into the Houſe, where after three ſeveral Readings, it was voted; That the Lords and Commons of *England*, aſſembled in Parliament, do declare; That by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Treaſon in the King of *England* to Levy War againſt the Parliament. And this Vote was ſent up to the Lords; and they denying their conſent, the Commons in anger made another Vote; That all Members of Committees ſhould proceed and act in any Ordinance, whether the Lords concurred or no; and that the People, under God, are the original of all juſt Power; and that the Houſe of Commons have the Supream Power of the Nation; and that whatſoever the Houſe of Commons enacteth is Law. All this paſſed *nemine contradicente.*

B. Theſe Propoſitions fight, not only againſt a King of *England*; but againſt all the Kings of the World. It were good they thought on't: but yet (I believe) under God the original of all Laws was in the People.

A. But the People, for them and their Heirs, by conſent and Oaths, have long ago put the Supream Power of the Nation into

into the hands of their Kings, for them and their Heirs; and consequently into the hands of this King their known and lawful Heir.

B. But does not the Parliament represent the People?

A. Yes to some purposes; as to put up Petitions to the King, when they have leave, and are grieved; but not to make a Grievance of the King's Power. Besides, the Parliament never represents the People, but when the King calls them; nor is it to be imagin'd that he calls a Parliament to depose himself. Put the Case every County and Burrough should have given this Parliament for a Benevolence, a Sum of Money; and that every County, meeting in their County-Court, or elsewhere, and every Burrough in their Town-Hall should have chosen certain men to carry their several Sums respectively to the Parliament. Had not these men represented the whole Nation?

B. Yes, no doubt.

A. Do you think the Parliament would have thought it reasonable to be called to account by this Representative?

B. No sure; and yet I must confess the Case is the same.

A. This Ordinance contained first, a Summary of the Charge against the King, in substance this; That not content with the

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Encroachments of his Predeceſſors upon the freedom of the People, he had deſigned to ſet up a Tyrannical Government, and to that end had raiſed and maintained in the Land a Civil War againſt the Parliament, whereby the Country hath been miſerably waſted, the publick Treaſure exhauſted, thouſands of people murdered, and infinite other miſchiefs committed.

Secondly, A Conſtitution paſſed of a High Court of Juſtice, that is, of a certain number of Commiſſioners, of whom any 20 had Power to try the King, and to proceed to Sentence according to the merit of the Cauſe, and ſee it ſpeedily executed. The Commiſſioners met on *Saturday Jan.* 20*th* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the King was brought before them; where ſitting in a Chair, he heard the Charge read, but denied to plead to it either Guilty or Not Guilty, till he ſhould know by what Lawful Authority he was brought thither. The Preſident told him; That the Parliament affirmed their own Authority, and the King perſevered in his refuſal to plead; though many words paſſed between him and the Preſident, yet this was the ſubſtance of it all.

On *Monday January* 22, the Court met again, and the Solicitor moved, that if the King perſiſted in denying the Authority of the

the Court, the Charge might be taken *pro confeſſo:* but the King ſtill denied their Authority.

They met again *January* 23, and then the Solicitor moved the Court for Judgment; whereupon the King was requir'd to give his final Anſwer, which was again a denial of their Authority.

Laſtly, They met again *January* 27, where the King deſir'd to be heard before the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, and promiſing after that to abide the Judgment of the Court. The Commiſſioners retir'd for half an hour to conſider of it, and then returning, cauſed the King to be brought again to the Bar, and told him, that what he propoſed was but another denial of the Courts Juriſdiction; and that if he had no more to ſay, they would proceed. Then the King anſwering, that he had no more to ſay; the Preſident began a long Speech in Juſtification of the Parliaments Proceedings, producing the Examples of many Kings kil-led, or depoſed by wicked Parliaments Ancient and Modern, in *England*, *Scotland*, and other parts of the World: All which he endeavoured to juſtifie from this only Principle; That the People have the Supream Power, and the Parliament is the People. This Speech ended, the Sentence of death was read; and the ſame upon *Tueſday* after

after *January* 30 executed at the Gate of his own Palace of *White-hall.* He that can delight in reading how villainouſly he was uſed by the Soldiers between the Sentence and Execution, may go to the Chronicle it ſelf; in which he ſhall ſee what Courage, Patience, Wiſdom and Goodneſs was in this Prince, whom, in their Charge, the Members of that wicked Parliament ſtiled Tyrant, Traitor and Murderer.

The King being dead, the ſame day they made an Act of Parliament, that whereas ſeveral pretences might be made to the Crown, *&c.* It is Enacted by this preſent Parliament, and Authority of the ſame; That no perſon preſume to declare, proclaim or publiſh, or any way promote *Charles Stuart* Son of *Charles* late King of *England,* commonly called Prince of *Wales,* or any other perſon to be King of *England* or *Ireland,* &c.

B. Seeing the King was dead, and his Succeſſor barred; by what declar'd Authority was the Peace maintain'd?

A. They had in their anger againſt the Lords formerly declar'd, the Supream Power of the Nation to be in the Houſe of Commons; and now on *February 5th* they vote the Houſe of Lords to be uſeleſs and dangerous. And thus the Kingdom is turned into a Democracie, or rather an Oligarchie: for pre-

preſently they made an Act; That none of thoſe Members, who were ſecluded for oppoſing the Vote of Non-Addreſſes, ſhould ever be re-admitted. And theſe were commonly called the ſecluded Members, and the reſt were by ſome ſtiled a Parliament, and by others the Rump.

I think you need not now have a Catalogue, either of the Vices, or of the Crimes, or of the Follies of the greateſt part of them that compoſed the Long Parliament, than which greater cannot be in the World. What greater Vices than Irreligion, Hypocriſie, Avarice and Cruelty; which have appear'd ſo eminently in the Actions of Presbyterian Members, and Presbyterian Miniſters? What greater Crimes than Blaſpheming and Killing God's Anointed? which was done by the hands of the Independents; but by the folly and firſt Treaſon of the Presbyterians, who betrayed and ſold him to his Murderers. Nor was it a little folly in the Lords, not to ſee that by the taking away of the King's Power, they loſt withal their own Priviledges; or to think themſelves either for number or judgment any way a conſiderable aſſiſtance to the Houſe of Commons. And for thoſe men who had skill in the Laws, it was no great ſign of underſtanding, not to perceive that the Laws of the Land were made by the King, to oblige his Subjects to Peace and Juſtice,

Juſtice, and not to oblige himſelf that made them. And laſtly and generally, all men are fools which pull down any thing which does them good, before they have ſet up ſomething better in its place. He that would ſet up Democracie with an Army, ſhould have an Army to maintain it; but theſe men did it, when thoſe men had the Army, that were reſolv'd to pull it down. To theſe Follies I might add the folly of thoſe fine men, which out of their reading of *Tully*, *Seneca*, or other Antimonarchiques, think themſelves ſufficient Politiques, and ſhew their diſcontents, when they are not called to the management of the State, and turn from one ſide to another upon every neglect they fancy from the King, or his Enemies.

Behemoth.

PART IV.

A. YOU have ſeen the Rump in poſſeſſion (as they believ'd) of the Supream Power over the two Nations of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Army their Servant, though *Cromwel* thought otherwiſe, ſerving them diligently for the advancement of his own purpoſes. I am now therefore to ſhew you their Proceedings.

B. Tell me firſt, how this kind of Government under the Rump or Relique of a Houſe of Commons is to be called?

A. 'Tis doubtleſs an Oligarchy; for the Supream Authority muſt needs be in one man, or in more. If in one, it is Monarchy, the Rump therefore was no Monarchy: If the Authority were in more than one; it was in all, or in fewer than all. When in all, it is Democracy; for every man may enter into the Aſſembly, which makes the

Sovereign Court; which they could not do here. It is therefore manifeſt, that the Authority was in a few, and conſequently the State was an Oligarchy.

B. Is it not impoſſible for a People to be well govern'd, that are to obey more Maſters than one?

A. Both the Rump, and all other Sovereign Aſſemblies, if they have but one Voice, though they be many Men, yet are they but one Perſon: for contrary Commands cannot conſiſt in one and the ſame Voice, which is the Voice of the greateſt part, and therefore they might govern well enough, if they had Honeſty and Wit enough.

The firſt Act of the Rump was the Excluſion of thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, which had been formerly kept out by violence, for the procuring of an Ordinance for the King's Tryal: for theſe men had appear'd againſt the Ordinance of Non-Addreſſes, and therefore to be excluded, becauſe they might elſe be an Impediment to their future Deſigns.

B. Was it not rather, becauſe in the Authority of few, they thought the fewer the better, both in reſpect of their ſhares, and alſo of a nearer approach in every one of them to the Dignity of a King?

A. Yes certainly, that was their principal end.

B. When

B. When theſe were put out; why did not the Counties and Burroughs chooſe others in their places?

A. They could not do that without order from the Houſe. After this they conſtituted a Councel of 40 perſons, which they termed a Councel of State, whoſe Office was to execute what the Rump ſhould command.

B. When there was neither King, nor Houſe of Lords, they could not call themſelves a Parliament; for a Parliament is a Meeting of the King, Lords and Commons, to confer together about the buſineſſes of the Common-wealth. With whom did the Rump confer?

A. Men may give to their Aſſembly what name they pleaſe, what ſignification ſoever ſuch Name might formerly have had; and the Rump took the Name of Parliament as moſt ſuitable to their purpoſe; and ſuch a Name as being venerable amongſt the people for many hundred years, had countenanced and ſweetned Subſidies and other Levies of Money, otherwiſe very unpleaſant to the Subject. They took alſo afterwards another name, which was *Cuſtodes Libertatis Angliæ*, which Titles they uſed only in their Writs iſſuing out of the Courts of Juſtice.

B. I do not ſee how a Subject that is tied to the Laws can have more liberty in one form of Government than another.

A. Howſoever to the people that underſtand by liberty nothing but leave to do what they liſt, it was a Title not ingrateful.

Their next work was to ſet forth a publick Declaration; That they were fully reſolv'd to maintain the fundamental Laws of the Nation, as to the Preſervation of the Lives, Liberties and Proprieties of the People.

B. What did they mean by the fundamental Laws of the Nation?

A. Nothing but to abuſe the people: for the only fundamental Law in every Common-wealth is, To obey the Laws from time to time, which he ſhall make, to whom the People have given the Supream Power. How likely then are they to uphold the fundamental Laws, that had murder'd him, who was by themſelves ſo often acknowledged for their Lawful Sovereign? Beſides, at the ſame time that this Declaration came forth, they were erecting that High Court of Juſtice, which took away the Lives of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel*. Whatſoever they meant by a fundamental Law, the erecting of this Court was a breach of it, as being warranted by no former Law or Example in *England*.

At the ſame time alſo they Levied Taxes by Soldiers, and to Soldiers permitted Free quarter, and did many other Actions, which if the King had done, they would have ſaid had been done againſt the Liberty and Propriety of the Subject.

B. What ſilly things are the common ſort of people, to be cozened as they were ſo groſly?

A. What ſort of people, as to this matter, are not of the common ſort? The craftieſt Knaves of all the Rump were no wiſer than the reſt whom they cozened: for the moſt of them did believe, that the ſame things which they impoſed upon the generality, were juſt and reaſonable; and eſpecially the great Haranguers, and ſuch as pretended to Learning: for who can be a good Subject in a Monarchy, whoſe Principles are taken from the Enemies of Monarchy, ſuch as were *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Cato*, and other Politicians of *Rome*, and *Ariſtotle* of *Athens*, who ſeldom ſpake of Kings, but as of Wolves, and other ravenous Beaſts? You may perhaps think a man has need of nothing elſe to know the Duty he owes to his Governour, and what Right he has to order him, but a good Natural Wit: but it is otherwiſe: for it is a Science, and built upon ſure and clear Principles, and to be learned by deep and careful ſtudy, or from

Maſters that have deeply ſtudied it; and who was there in the Parliament, or in the Nation, that could find out thoſe evident Principles, and derive from them the neceſſary Rules of Juſtice, and the neceſſary Connexion of Juſtice and Peace? The People have one day in ſeven the leiſure to hear Inſtruction, and there are Miniſters appointed to teach them their Duty: but how have thoſe Miniſters performed their Office? A great part of them, namely, the Presbyterian Miniſters throughout the whole War, inſtigated the People againſt the King; ſo did alſo Independents, and other Fanatick Miniſters. The reſt, contented with their Livings, preached in their Pariſhes Points of Controverſie, to Religion impertinent; but to the breach of Charity, among themſelves very effectual, or elſe eloquent things, which the People either underſtood not, or thought themſelves not concerned in. But this ſort of Preachers, as they did little good, ſo they did little hurt. The miſchief proceeded wholly from the Presbyterian Preachers, who by a long practiced Hiſtrionique faculty preached up the Rebellion powerfully.

B. To what end?

A. To the end that the State becoming popular the Church might be ſo too, and governed by an Aſſembly, and by conſequence,

quence, (as they thought) ſeeing Politicks are ſubſervient to Religion, they might govern, and thereby ſatisfie, not only their covetous humour with Riches, but alſo their malice with power to undo all men that admir'd not their wiſdom. Your calling the People ſilly things, obliged me by this Digreſſion to ſhew you, that it is not want of Wit, but want of the Science of Juſtice that brought them into theſe troubles. Perſwade, if you can, that man that has made his fortune, or made it greater, or an Eloquent Orator, or a Raviſhing Poet, or a ſubtil Lawyer, or but a good Hunter, or a cunning Gameſter, that he has not a good Wit; and yet there were of all theſe a great many ſo ſilly as to be deceiv'd by the Rump, and Members of the ſame Rump. They wanted not Wit, but the knowledge of the Cauſes and Grounds upon which one Perſon has a Right to govern, and the reſt an Obligation to obey, which Grounds are neceſſary to be taught the People, who without them cannot live long in peace amongſt themſelves.

B. Let us return, if you pleaſe, to the Proceedings of the Rump.

A. In the reſt of this year they voted a new Stamp for the Coyn of this Nation. They conſidered alſo of Agents to be ſent to Forreign States; and having lately re-

ceiv'd applauſe from the Army for their work done by the High Court of Juſtice, and encouragement to extend the ſame farther, they perfected the ſaid High Court of Juſtice, in which were tryed Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, Lord *Capel*, the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *John Owen*, whereof, as I mentioned before, the three firſt were beheaded. This affrighted divers of the King's Party out of the Land: for not only they but all that had born Arms for the King were at that time in very great danger of their Lives. For it was put to the queſtion by the Army at a Councel of War, whether they ſhould be all Maſſacred or no, where the Noes carried it, but by two Voices. Laſtly, *March* the 24*th*, they put the Major of *London* out of his Office, fined him 2000 *l.* diſfranchiſed him, and condemned him to two months Impriſonment in the Tower, for refuſing to proclaim the Act for aboliſhing the Kingly Power. And thus ended the year 1648. and the Monthly Faſt; God having granted that which they faſted for, the Death of the King, and the Poſſeſſion of his Inheritance. By theſe their Proceedings they had already loſt the Hearts of the generality of the People, and had nothing to truſt to but the Army, which was not in their power, but in *Cromwel*'s, who never

never failed, when there was occaſion, to put them upon all Exploits that might make them odious to the people, in order to his future diſſolving them, whenſoever it ſhould conduce to his ends.

In the beginning of 1649. the *Scots* diſcontented with the Proceedings of the Rump againſt the late King, began to Levy Soldiers, in order to a new Invaſion of *England*. The *Iriſh* Rebels, for want of timely reſiſtance from *England*, were grown terrible; and the *Engliſh* Army at home infected by the Adjutators, were caſting how to ſhare the Land amongſt the Godly, meaning themſelves; and ſuch others as they pleaſed, who were therefore called Levellers. Alſo the Rump for the preſent were not very well provided of Money, and therefore the firſt thing they did was, the laying of a Tax upon the People of 90000 *l.* a month, for the maintenance of the Army.

B. Was it not one of their quarrels with the King; That he had Levied Money without the conſent of the People in Parliament.

A. You may ſee by this what reaſon the Rump had to call it ſelf a Parliament; for the Taxes impoſed by Parliament, were always underſtood to be by the Peoples conſent, and conſequently Legal.

To

To appeaſe the *Scots*, they ſent Meſſengers with flattering Letters to keep them from engaging for the preſent King; but in vain; for they would hear nothing from a Houſe of Commons (as they called it) at *Weſtminſter* without a King and Lords. But they ſent Commiſſioners to the King, to let him know what they were doing for him: for they were reſolv'd to raiſe an Army of 17000 Foot and 6000 Horſe, for themſelves.

To relieve *Ireland* the Rump had reſolved to ſend eleven Regiments thither out of the Army in *England*. This hap'ned well for *Cromwel*: for the Levelling Soldiers, which were in every Regiment many, and in ſome the major part, finding that in ſtead of dividing the Land at home, they were to venture their Lives in *Ireland*, flatly denied to go; and one Regiment having caſhier'd their Collonel about *Salisbury*, was marching to joyn with three Regiments more of the ſame Reſolution; but both the General and *Cromwel* falling upon them at *Burford*, utterly defeated them, and ſoon after reduced the whole Army to their obedience. And thus another of the Impediments to *Cromwel's* Advancement was ſoon removed. This done they came to *Oxford*, and thence to *London*: and at *Oxford*, both the General and *Cromwel* were made

made Doctors of the Civil Law; and at *London* feasted and presented by the City.

B. Were they not first made Masters, and then Doctors?

A. They had made themselves already Masters both of the Laws and Parliament. The Army being now obedient, the Rump sent over those eleven Regiments into *Ireland* under the Command of Dr. *Cromwel*, intituled Governour of that Kingdom, the Lord *Fairfax* being still General of all the Forces, both here and there.

The Marquess (now Duke) of *Ormond* was the King's Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the Rebels had made a Confederacy amongst themselves, and these Confederates had made a kind of League with the Lieutenant, wherein they agreed upon liberty given them in the exercise of their Religion, to be faithful to, and assist the King. To these also were joyned some Forces raised by the Earls of *Castlehaven*, and *Clanricard*, and my Lord *Inchiquin*; so that they were the greatest united strength in the Island: but there were amongst them a great many other Papists, that would by no means subject themselves to Protestants, and these were called the Nuntio's Party, as the other were called the Confederate Party. These Parties not agreeing, and the Confederate Party having broken their Articles,

ticles, the Lord-Lieutenant seeing them ready to besiege him in *Dublin*, and not able to defend it, did, to preserve the Place for the Protestants, surrender it to the Parliament of *England*, and came over to the King at that time, when he was carried from place to place by the Army. From *England* he went over to the Prince, now King, residing then at *Paris*.

But the Confederates affrighted with the News that the Rump was sending over an Army thither, desir'd the Prince by Letters to send back my Lord of *Ormond*, engaging themselves to submit absolutely to the King's Authority, and to obey my Lord of *Ormond* as his Lieutenant. And hereupon he was sent back, this was about a year before the going over of *Cromwel*.

In which time by the Dissentions in *Ireland* between the Confederate Party, and the Nuntio's Party, and discontents about Command, this, otherwise sufficient power, effected nothing, and was at last defeated, *August* the second, by a Sally out of *Dublin*, which they were besieging. Within a few days after arrived *Cromwel*, who with extraordinary diligence, and horrid executions, in less than a twelvemonth that he stayed there, subdued in a manner the whole Nation, having killed, or exterminated a great part of them, and leaving his Son-

Son-in-law *Ireton* to ſubdue the reſt. But *Ireton* dyed there (before the buſineſs was quite done) of the Plague. This was one ſtep more towards *Cromwel*'s exaltation to the Throne.

B. What a miſerable condition was *Ireland* reduced to by the Learning of the *Roman*, as well as *England* was by the Learning of the Presbyterian Clergy.

A. In the latter end of the preceding year, the King was come from *Paris* to the *Hague*: and ſhortly after came thither from the Rump their Agent *Doriſlaus* Doctor of the Civil Law, who had been employed in the drawing up of the Charge againſt the late King: but the firſt night he came, as he was at Supper, a Company of Cavaliers, near a dozen, entred his Chamber, killed him, and got away. Not long after alſo their Agent at *Madrid*, one *Aſcham*, one that had written in defence of his Maſters, was killed in the ſame manner. About this time came out two Books, one written by *Salmaſius* a Presbyterian, againſt the Murder of the King, another written by *Milton*, an *Engliſh* Independent, in anſwer to it.

B. I have ſeen them both. They are very good Latin both, and hardly to be judged which is better, and both very ill reaſoning, hardly to be judged which is worſe;

worſe; like two Declamations *Pro* and *Con*, made for exerciſe only in a Rhetorick School by one and the ſame Man. So like is a Preſbyterian to an Independent.

A. In this year the Rump did not much at home; ſave that in the beginning they made *England* a Free State by an Act which runs thus. Be it enacted and declar'd by this preſent Parliament, and by the Authority thereof; That the People of *England*, and all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, are, and ſhall be, and are hereby conſtituted, made and declared a Common-wealth and Free State, *&c.*

B. What did they mean by a Free State and Common-wealth? Were the People no longer to be ſubject to Laws? They could not mean that: for the Parliament meant to govern them by their own Laws, and puniſh ſuch as broke them. Did they mean that *England* ſhould not be ſubject to any Forreign Kingdom or Common-wealth? That needed not be enacted, ſeeing there was no King nor People pretended to be their Maſters. What did they mean then?

A. They meant that neither this King, nor any King, nor any ſingle perſon, but only that they themſelves would be the Peoples Maſters, and would have ſet it down

down in thoſe plain words, if the People could have been cozned with words intelligible, as eaſily as with words not intelligible.

After this they gave one another Money and Eſtates out of the Lands and Goods of the Loyal Party. They enacted alſo an Engagement to be taken by every man, in theſe words: *You ſhall promiſe to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth of* England, *as it is now eſtabliſhed, without King, or Houſe of Lords.*

They baniſhed alſo from within 20 Miles of *London* all the Royal Party, forbidding alſo every one of them to depart more than five Miles from his Dwelling-houſe.

B. They meant perhaps to have them ready, if need were, for a Maſſacre. But what did the *Scots* in this time?

A. They were conſidering of the Officers of the Army, which they were Levying for the King, how they might exclude from Command all ſuch as had loyally ſerv'd his Father, and all Independents, and all ſuch as commanded in Duke *Hamilton*'s Army; and theſe were the main things that paſſed this year.

The Marqueſs of *Montroſſe*, that in the year 1645. had, with a few men, and in little time, done things almoſt incredible againſt the late King's Enemies in *Scotland*, landed

landed now again in the beginning of the year 1650. in the North of *Scotland*, with Commiſſion from the preſent King, hoping to do him as good Service, as he had formerly done his Father: but the Caſe was altered; for the *Scotch* Forces were then in *England* in the Service of the Parliament; whereas now they were in *Scotland*, and many more (for their intended Invaſion) newly raiſed. Beſides the Soldiers which the Marqueſs brought over were few, and Forreigners, nor did the Highlanders come in to him as he expected; in ſo much as he was ſoon defeated, and ſhortly after taken, and (with more ſpightful uſage than revenge requir'd) executed by the Covenanters at *Edenburgh May* 2.

B. What good could the King expect from joyning with theſe men, who during the Treaty, diſcovered ſo much malice to him in one of his beſt Servants?

A. No doubt (their Church-men being then prevalent) they would have done as much to this King, as the *Engliſh* Parliament had done to his Father, if they could have gotten by it that which they fooliſhly aſpir'd to, the Government of the Nation. I do not believe that the Independents were worſe than the Presbyterians: both the one and the other were reſolv'd to deſtroy whatſoever ſhould ſtand in the way to their

their Ambition: but neceſſity made the King paſs over both this, and many other Indignities from them, rather than ſuffer the purſuit of his Right in *England* to cool, and be little better than extinguiſhed.

B. Indeed I believe a Kingdom, if ſuffered to become an old Debt, will hardly ever be recover'd. Beſides the King was ſure, whereſoever the Victory lighted, he could loſe nothing in the War, but Enemies.

A. About the time of *Montroſſe* his death, which was in *May*, *Cromwel* was yet in *Ireland*, and his work unfiniſhed: but finding, or by his Friends advertiſed, that his preſence in the Expedition now preparing againſt the *Scots* would be neceſſary to his deſign, ſent to the Rump to know their pleaſure concerning his return: but for all that, he knew, or thought it was not neceſſary to ſtay for their Anſwer, but came away, and arriv'd at *London* the ſixth of *June* following, and was welcomed by the Rump. Now had General *Fairfax* (who was truly what he pretended to be, a Presbyterian) been ſo catechis'd by the Presbyterian Miniſters here, that he refus'd to fight againſt the Brethren in *Scotland*; nor did the Rump, nor *Cromwel* go about to rectifie his Conſcience in that Point; and

thus *Fairfax* laying down his Commission, *Cromwel* was now made General of all the Forces in *England* and *Ireland*; which was another Step to the Sovereign Power.

B. Where was the King?

A. In *Scotland* newly come over. He landed in the North, and was honourably conducted to *Edenburgh*, though all things were not yet well agreed on between the *Scots* and him: for though he had yielded to as hard Conditions, as the late King had yielded to in the Isle of *Wight*, yet they had still somewhat to add, till the King enduring no more, departed from them towards the North again. But they sent Messengers after him to pray him to return, but they furnished these Messengers with strength enough to bring him back, if he should have refused. In fine, they agreed, but would not suffer either the King, or any Royalist, to have Command in the Army.

B. The sum of all is, the King was there a Prisoner.

A. Cromwel from *Barwick* sends a Declaration to the *Scots*, telling them he had no quarrel against the People of *Scotland*; but against the Malignant Party, that had brought in the King, to the disturbance of the Peace between the two Nations; and that he was willing, either by Conference

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to give and receive ſatisfaction, or to decide the Juſtice of the Cauſe by Battle. To which the *Scots* anſwering, declare; That they will not proſecute the King's Intereſt before, and without his acknowledgment of the ſins of his Houſe, and his former ways, and ſatisfaction given to God's People in both Kingdoms. Judge by this, whether the preſent King were not in as bad a condition here, as his Father was in the hands of the Presbyterians of *England.*

B. Presbyterians are every where the ſame: they would fain be abſolute Governours of all they converſe with, and have nothing to plead for it, but that where they Reign 'tis God that Reigns, and no where elſe: but I obſerve one ſtrange Demand, that the King ſhould acknowledge the ſins of his Houſe; for I thought it had been certainly held by all Divines, that no man was bound to acknowledge any man's ſins, but his own.

A. The King having yielded to all that the Church requir'd, the *Scots* proceeded in their intended War. *Cromwel* marched on to *Edenburgh*, provoking them all he could to Battle, which they declining, and Proviſions growing ſcarce in the *Engliſh* Army, *Cromwel* retir'd to *Dunbar*, deſpairing of ſucceſs; and intending by Sea

or Land to get back into *England*. And ſuch was the Condition, which this General *Cromwel* ſo much magnified for Conduct, had brought his Army to; that all his Glories had ended in Shame and Puniſhment, if Fortune, and the faults of his Enemies had not relieved him For as he retir'd the *Scots* followed him cloſe all the way, till within a Mile of *Dunbar*. There is a ridge of Hills, that from beyond *Edenburgh* goes winding to the Sea, and croſſes the High-way between *Dunbar* and *Barwick*, at a Village called *Copperſpeith*, where the paſſage is ſo difficult, that had the *Scots* ſent timely thither a very few men to guard it, the *Engliſh* could never have gotten home. For the *Scots* kept the Hills, and needed not have fought, but upon great advantage, and were almoſt two to one. *Cromwell*'s Army was at the foot of thoſe Hills, on the North ſide; and there was a great Ditch or Channel of a Torrent between the Hills and it; ſo that he could never have got home by Land, nor without utter ruine of the Army attempted to Ship it; nor have ſtayed where he was for want of Proviſions. Now *Cromwel* knowing the Paſs was free, and commanding a good Party of Horſe and Foot to poſſeſs it; it was neceſſary for the *Scots* to let them go, whom they bragged they had impound-

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ed, or elſe to fight; and therefore with the beſt of their Horſe charged the *Engliſh*, and made them at firſt to ſhrink a little: but the *Engliſh* Foot coming on, the *Scots* were put to flight; and the flight of the Horſe hindered the Foot from engaging, who therefore fled, as did alſo the reſt of their Horſe. Thus the folly of the *Scottiſh* Commanders brought all their odds to an even Lay, between two ſmall and equal Parties; wherein Fortune gave the Victory to the *Engliſh*, who were not many more in number than thoſe that were killed and taken Priſoners of the *Scots*, and the Church loſt their Canon, Bag and Baggage, with 10000 Arms, and almoſt their whole Army. The reſt were got together by *Leſly* to *Sterling*.

B. This Victory happened well for the King; for had the *Scots* been Victors, the Presbyterians both here and there would have domineer'd again, and the King been in the ſame condition his Father was in at *New-Caſtle*, in the hands of the *Scottiſh* Army. For in purſuit of this Victory, the *Engliſh* at laſt brought the *Scots* to a pretty good habit of obedience for the King, whenſoever he ſhould recover his Right.

A. In purſuit of this Victory the *Engliſh* marched to *Edenburgh*, quitted by the *Scots*,

fortified *Leith*, and took in all the Strength and Caſtles they thought fit, on this ſide the *Frith*, which now was become the Bound betwixt the two Nations: and the *Scotch* Eccleſiaſticks began to know themſelves better, and reſolv'd in their new Army, which they meant to raiſe, to admit ſome of the Royaliſts into Command, *Cromwel* from *Edenburgh* marched towards *Sterling*, to provoke the Enemy to fight; but finding danger in it, return'd to *Edenburgh*, and beſieged the Caſtle. In the mean time he ſent a Party into the Weſt of *Scotland* to ſuppreſs *Straughan* and *Kerr*, two great Presbyterians, that were there Levying of Forces for their new Army. And in the ſame time the *Scots* Crowned the King at *Schone*.

The reſt of this year was ſpent in *Scotland*, on *Cromwel's* part, in taking of *Edenburgh* Caſtle, and in attempts to paſs the *Frith*, or any other ways to get over to the *Scottiſh* Forces; and on the *Scots* part in haſtening their Levies for the North.

B. What did the Rump at home during this time?

A. They voted Liberty of Conſcience to the Sectaries; that is, they pluckt out the Sting of the Presbytery, which conſiſted in a ſevere impoſing of odd Opinions upon the

the People, impertinent to Religion, but conducing to the advancement of the power of the Presbyterian Miniſters. Alſo they Levied more Soldiers, and gave the Command of them to *Harriſon*, now made Major-General, a Fifth monarchy-man; and of theſe Soldiers two Regiments of Horſe and one of Foot were raiſed by the Fifth-monarchy-men, and other Sectaries, in thankfulneſs for this their Liberty from the Presbyterian Tyranny. Alſo they pulled down the late King's Statue in the Exchange; and in the Nick where it ſtood, cauſed to be written theſe words. *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus*, &c.

B. What good did that do them, and why did they not pull down the Statues of all the reſt of the Kings?

A. What account can be given of Actions that proceed not from reaſon, but ſpight, and ſuch like paſſions? Beſides this, they receiv'd Ambaſſadors from *Portugal* and from *Spain*, acknowledging their Power. And in the very end of the year they prepared Ambaſſadors to the Netherlands to offer them friendſhip. All they did beſides was perſecuting and executing of Royaliſts.

In the beginning of the year 1651. General *Dean* arrived in *Scotland*; and on the 11*th* of *April* the *Scottiſh* Parliament aſſem-

bled, and made certain Acts, in order to a better uniting of themſelves, and better obedience to the King, who was now at *Sterling*, with the *Scottiſh* Forces he had, expecting more now in Levying. *Cromwel* from *Edenburgh* went divers times towards *Sterling* to provoke the *Scots* to fight. There was no Ford there to paſs over his Men; at laſt Boats being come from *London* and *New-Caſtle*, Collonel *Overton* (though it were long firſt, for it was now *July*) tranſported 1400 Foot of his own, beſides another Regiment of Foot, and four Troops of Horſe, and intrencht himſelf at *North-ferry* on the other ſide, and before any help could come from *Sterling*, Major-General *Lambert* alſo was got over with as many more. By this time Sir *John Brownel* was come to oppoſe them with 4500 Men, whom the *Engliſh* there defeated, killing about 2000, and taking Priſoners 1600. This done, and as much more of the Army tranſported, as was thought fit, *Cromwel* comes before *St. Johnſtons*, (from whence the *Scttuiſh* Parliament, upon the news of his paſſing the *Frith*, was removed to *Dundee*) and ſummons it; and the ſame day had news brought him that the King was marching from *Sterling* towards *England*, which was true; but notwithſtanding the King was three days

march

march before him, he reſolved to have the Town, before he followed him; and accordingly had it the next day, by Surrender.

B. What hopes had the King in coming into *England*, having before and behind him none, at leaſt none Armed, but his Enemies?

A. Yes; there was before him the City of *London*, which generally hated the Rump, and might eaſily be reckoned for 20000 well Armed Soldiers; and moſt men believ'd they would take his part, had he come near the City.

B. What probability was there of that? Do you think the Rump was not ſure of the Service of the Major, and thoſe that had command of the City Militia? And if they had been really the King's Friends, what need had they to ſtay for his coming up to *London*? They might have ſeized the Rump, if they had pleas'd, which had no poſſibility of defending themſelves; at leaſt they might have turned them out of the Houſe.

A. This they did not; but on the contrary permitted the recruiting of *Cromwel*'s Army, and the raiſing of Men to keep the Country from coming in to the King. The King began his March from *Sterling* the laſt of *July*, and *Auguſt* the 22*d* came to *Worceſter*

ceſter by the way of *Carliſle*, with a weary Army of about 13000, whom *Cromwel* followed, and joyning with the new Levies, environ'd *Worceſter* with 40000, and on the third of *September* utterly defeated the King's Army. Here Duke *Hamilton*, Brother of him that was beheaded, was ſlain.

B. What became of the King?

A. Night coming on, before the City was quite taken, he left it, it being dark, and none of the Enemies Horſe within the Town to follow him, the plundering Foot having kept the Gates ſhut, leſt the Horſe ſhould enter and have a ſhare of the Booty. The King before morning got into *Warwick-ſhire* 25 Miles from *Worceſter*, and there lay diſguis'd a while, and afterwards went up and down in great danger of being diſcover'd, till at laſt he got over into *France* from *Brighthemſted* in *Suſſex*.

B. When *Cromwel* was gone, what was farther done in *Scotland*?

A. Lieutenant-General *Monk*, whom *Cromwel* left there with 7000, took *Sterling Auguſt* 14*th*, by Surrender, and *Dundee* the third of *September*, by Storm, becauſe it reſiſted; this the Soldiers plundered, and had good Booty, becauſe the *Scots* for ſafety had ſent thither their moſt precious Goods from *Edenburgh* and *St. Johnſtons*.

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He took likewiſe by Surrender *Aberdeen*, and (the place where the *Scottiſh* Miniſters firſt learned to play the fools) *St. Andrews*. Alſo in the Highlands Collonel *Alured* took a knot of Lords and Gentlemen, *viz.* four Earls, and four Lords, and above twenty Knights and Gentlemen, whom he ſent Priſoners into *England*. So that there was nothing more to be fear'd from *Scotland*; all the trouble of the Rump, being to reſolve what they ſhould do with it. At laſt they reſolv'd to unite and incorporate it into one Common-wealth with *England* and *Ireland*. And to that end ſent thither *St. Johns*, *Vane*, and other Commiſſioners to offer them this Union by publick Declaration, and to warn them to chooſe their Deputies of Shires, and Burgeſſes of Towns, and ſend them to *Weſtminſter*.

B. This was a very great favour.

A. I think ſo: and yet it was by many of the *Scots*, eſpecially by the Miniſters, and other Presbyterians, refus'd. The Miniſters had given way to the Levying of Money for the payment of the *Engliſh* Soldiers; but to comply with the Declaration of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners they abſolutely forbad.

B. Methinks this contributing to the pay of their Conquerors was ſome mark of ſervitude; whereas entring into the Union made them

them free, and gave them equal priviledge with the *Engliſh*.

A. The Cauſe why they refus'd the Union, rendred by the Presbyterians themſelves, was this; That it drew with it a Subordination of the Church to the Civil State in the things of Chriſt.

B. This is a downright Declaration to all Kings and Common-wealths in general, that a Presbyterian Miniſter will be a true Subject to none of them in the things of Chriſt, which things what they are, they will be Judges themſelves. What have we then gotten by our deliverance from the Pope's Tyranny, if theſe petty men ſucceed in the place of it, that have nothing in them that can be beneficial to the Publick, except their ſilence? For their Learning, it amounts to no more than an imperfect knowledge of Greek and Latin, and an acquir'd readineſs in the Scripture-Language, with a Geſture and Tone ſuitable thereunto; but of Juſtice and Charity (the Manners of Religion) they have neither knowledge, nor practice, as is manifeſt by the Stories I have already told you: Nor do they diſtinguiſh between the Godly and the Ungodly, but by conformity of Deſign in Men of Judgment, or by repetition of their Sermons in the common ſort of People.

A. But

B. But this ſullenneſs of the *Scots* was to no purpoſe: for they at *Weſtminſter* enacted the Union of the two Nations, and the abolition of Monarchy in *Scotland*, and ordained puniſhment for thoſe that ſhould tranſgreſs that Act.

B. What other buſineſs did the Rump this year?

A. They ſent *St. Johns* and *Strickland* Ambaſſadors to the *Hague*, to offer League to the United Provinces, who had Audience *March* the third. *St. Johns* in a Speech ſhewed thoſe States what advantage they might have by this League in their Trade and Navigations, by the uſe of the *Engliſh* Ports and Harbors. The *Dutch*, though they ſhewed no great forwardneſs in the buſineſs, yet appointed Commiſſioners to treat with them about it. But the People were generally againſt it, calling the Ambaſſadors and their Followers (as they were) Traitors and Murderers, and made ſuch Tumults about their Houſe, that their Followers durſt not go abroad, till the States had quieted them. The Rump advertis'd hereof, preſently recall'd them. The Compliment which *St. Johns* gave to the Commiſſioners at their taking leave is worth your hearing. *You have*, ſaid he, *an Eye upon the event of the Affairs of* Scotland, *and therefore do refuſe the friendſhip we have offered. Now I*

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can assure you, many in the Parliament were of opinion, that we should not have sent any Ambassadors to you, till we had superated those matters between them and that King, and then expected your Ambassadors to us. I now perceive our error, and that those Gentlemen were in the Right. In a short time you shall see that business ended; and then you will come and seek what we have freely offered, when it shall perplex you that you have refused our proffer.

B. St. Johns was not sure that the *Scottish* business would end as it did. For though the *Scots* were beaten at *Dunbar*, he could not be sure of the event of their entring *England*, which happened afterward.

A. But he gues'd well: for within a Month after the Battle at *Worcester* an Act passed, forbidding the Importing of Merchandise in other than *English* Ships. The *English* also molested their Fishing upon our Coast. They also many times searched their Ships, (upon occasion of our War with *France*) and made some of them Prize. And then the *Dutch* sent their Ambassadors hither to desire what they before refused; but partly also to inform themselves what Naval Forces the *English* had ready, and how the People here were contented with the Government.

B. How

B. How ſped they?

A. The Rump ſhewed now as little deſire of Agreement as the *Dutch* did then; ſtanding upon Terms never likely to be granted. Firſt; for the fiſhing on the *Engliſh* Coaſt, that they ſhould not have it without paying for it. Secondly, that the *Engliſh* ſhould have free Trade from *Middleburgh* to *Antwerp*, as they had before their Rebellion againſt the King of *Spain*. Thirdly, they demanded amends for the old (but never to be forgotten) buſineſs of *Amboyna*: So that the War was already certain, though the Seaſon kept them from Action till the Spring following. The true Quarrel on the *Engliſh* part was, that their profer'd friendſhip was ſcorn'd, and their Ambaſſadors affronted: On the *Dutch* part was, their greedineſs to engroſs all Traffique, and a falſe eſtimate of our and their own ſtrength.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, the Reliques of the War, both in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, were not neglected, though thoſe Nations were not fully pacified till two years after, The perſecution alſo of Royaliſts ſtill continued, amongſt whom was beheaded one Mr. *Love*, for holding correſpondence with the King.

B. I had thought a Presbyterian Miniſter, whilſt he was ſuch, could not be a Roya-

Royaliſt, becauſe they think their Aſſembly have the Supream Power in the things of Chriſt; and by conſequence they are in *England* (by a Statute) Traitors.

A. You may think ſo ſtill: for though I call'd Mr. *Love* a Royaliſt, I meant it only for that one Act, for which he was condemn'd. It was he, who during the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, preaching before the Commiſſioners there, ſaid, it was as poſſible for Heaven and Hell, as for the King and Parliament to agree. Both he and the reſt of the Presbyterians are and were Enemies to the King's Enemies, *Cromwel* and his Fanaticks, for their own, not for the King's ſake. Their Loyalty was like that of Sir *John Hotham*'s, that kept the King out of *Hull*, and afterwards would have betrayed the ſame to the Marqueſs of *New-Caſtle*. Theſe Presbyterians therefore cannot be rightly called Loyal, but rather doubly perfidious, unleſs you think, that as two Negatives make an Affirmative, ſo two Treaſons make Loyalty.

This year alſo were reduced to the obedience of the Rump the Iſlands of *Scilly* and *Man*, and the *Barbadoes*, and St. *Chriſtophers*. One thing fell out that they liked not, which was, that *Cromwel* gave them warning to determine their ſitting, according to the Bill for Triennial Parliaments.

B. That

B. That I think indeed was harſh.

A. In the year 1652. *May* the 14*th* began the *Dutch* War in this manner. Three *Dutch* Men of War, with divers Merchants from the *Straights* being diſcovered by one Captain *Young*, who commanded ſome *Engliſh* Frigats, the ſaid *Young* ſent to their Admiral to bid him ſtrike his Flag, (a thing uſually done in acknowledgment of the *Engliſh* Dominion in the narrow Seas) which accordingly he did. Then came up the Vice-Admiral, and being called to as the other was, to take down his Flag; he anſwered plainly, he would not: but after the exchange of four or five Broadſides, and miſchief done, on either part, he took it down: but Captain *Young* demanded alſo, either the Vice-Admiral himſelf, or his Ship, to make good the damage already ſuſtained; to which the Vice-Admiral anſwer'd, that he had taken in his Flag, but would defend himſelf and his Ship. Whereupon Captain *Young* conſulting with the Captains of his other Ships, leſt the beginning of the War, in this time of Treaty, ſhould be charged upon himſelf, and night alſo coming on, thought fit to proceed no farther.

B. The War certainly began at this time; but who began it?

A. The Dominion of the Seas belonging to the *English*, there can be no question but the *Dutch* began it: and that the said Dominion belonged to the *English*, it was confessed at first by the Admiral himself peaceably, and at last by the Vice-Admiral, taking in their Flags.

About a fortnight after, there happened another Fight upon the like occasion. *Van Tromp* with 42 Men of War came to the back of *Goodwin Sands*, (Major *Bourne* being then with a few of the Parliaments Ships in the *Downs*, and *Blake* with the rest farther Westward) and sent two Captains of his to *Bourne*, to excuse his coming thither. To whom *Bourne* return'd this Answer, That the Message was civil, but that it might appear real he ought to depart. So *Tromp* departed, meaning (now *Bourne* was satisfied) to sail towards *Blake*, and he did so: but so did also *Bourne*, for fear of the worst. When *Tromp* and *Blake* were near one another, *Blake* made a Shot over *Tromp*'s Ship, as a warning to him to take in his Flag. This he did thrice, and then *Tromp* gave him a Broad side, and so began the Fight, (at the beginning whereof *Bourne* came in) and lasted from two a Clock till night, the *English* having the better, and the Flag, as before making the Quarrel.

B. What

B. What needs there, when both Nations were heartily reſolv'd to fight, to ſtand ſo much upon this Compliment of who ſhould begin? For as to the gaining of Friends and Confederates thereby, I think it was in vain; ſeeing Princes and States in ſuch occaſions look not much upon the Juſtice of their Neighbours, but upon their own Concernment in the Event.

A. It is commonly ſo; but in this Caſe the *Dutch* knowing the Dominion of the narrow Seas to be a gallant Title, and envyed by all the Nations that reach the Shore, and conſequently that they were likely to oppoſe it, did wiſely enough in making this Point the ſtate of the Quarrel. After this Fight, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors reſiding in *England*, ſent a Paper to the Councel of State, wherein they ſtiled this laſt Encounter a raſh Action, and affirmed it was done without the knowledge, and againſt the Will of their Lords the States-General, and deſir'd them that nothing might be done upon it in heat, which might become irreparable. The Parliament hereupon voted; firſt, That the States-General ſhould pay the Charges they were at, and for the damages they ſuſtained upon this occaſion. 2. That this being paid, there ſhould be a Ceſſation of all Acts of Hoſtility, and a mutual Reſtitution of

all Ships and Goods taken. 3. And both theſe agreed to, that there ſhould be made a League between the two Commonwealths. Theſe Votes were ſent to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors in anſwer of the ſaid Paper; but with a Preamble ſetting forth the former kindneſſes of *England* to the Netherlands, and taking notice of their new Fleet of 150 Men of War, without any other apparent Deſign than the deſtruction of the *Engliſh* Fleet.

B. What anſwer made the *Dutch* to this?

A. None. *Tromp* ſailed preſently into *Zealand*, and *Blake* with 70 Men of War to the *Orkney* Iſlands, to ſeize their Buſſes, and to wait for five *Dutch* Ships from the *Eaſt-Indies*. And Sir *George Aſcue* newly returned from the *Barbadoes*, came into the *Downs* with 15 Men of War, where he was commanded to ſtay for a Recruit out of the *Thames*.

Tromp being recruited now to 120 Sail, made account to get in between Sir *George Aſcue* and the mouth of the River, but was hindered ſo long by contrary Winds, that the Merchants calling for his Convoy, he could ſtay no longer, and ſo he went back into *Holland*, and thence to *Orkney*, where he met with the ſaid five *Eaſt-India* Ships, and ſent them home. And then he endeavoured

voured to engage with *Blake*, but a ſudden Storm forced him to Sea, and ſo diſſipated his Fleet, that only 42 came home in Body, the reſt ſingly, as well as they could. *Blake* alſo came home, but went firſt to the Coaſt of *Holland* with 900 Priſoners, and ſix Men of War taken, which were part of twelve which he found and took guarding their Buſſes. This was the firſt bout after the War declar'd.

In *Auguſt* following there happened a Fight between *de Ruitter* the Admiral of *Zealand*, with 50. Men of War, and Sir *George Aſcue*, near *Plimouth*, with 40, wherein Sir *George* had the better, and might have got an intire Victory, had the whole Fleet engaged. Whatſoever was the matter, the Rump (though they rewarded him) never more employed him after his return, in their Service at Sea: but voted, for the year to come, three Generals, *Blake* that was one already, and *Dean*, and *Monk*.

About this time the Arch-Duke *Leopold* beſieging *Dunkirk*, and the *French* ſending a Fleet to relieve it, General *Blake* lighting on the *French* at *Calais*, and taking ſeven of their Ships, was cauſe of the Towns Surrender.

In *September* they fought again, *De Wit* and *Ruitter* commanding the *Dutch*, and

Blake the *Engliſh*, and the *Dutch* were again worſted.

Again in the end of *November Van Tromp* with 80 Men of War, ſhewed himſelf at the back of *Goodwin Sands*; where *Blake*, though he had with him but 40, adventured to fight with him, and had much the worſt, and (night parting the Fray) retir'd into the River of *Thames*; whilſt *Van Tromp* keeping the Sea, took ſome inconſiderable Veſſels from the *Engliſh*, and thereupon (as it was ſaid) with a Childiſh vanity, hung out a Broom from the Main-top-maſt, ſignifying he meant to ſweep the Seas of all *Engliſh* Shipping.

After this, in *February*, the *Dutch* with *Van Tromp* were encountered by the *Engliſh* under *Blake* and *Dean*, near *Portſmouth*, and had the worſt. And theſe were all the Encounters between them in this year, in the narrow Seas. They fought alſo once at *Legorne*, where the *Dutch* had the better.

B. I ſee no great odds yet on either ſide, if there were any the *Engliſh* had it.

A. Nor did either of them e're the more incline to Peace. For the *Hollanders*, after they had ſent Ambaſſadors into *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Poland*, and the *Hans*-Towns, (whence Tar and Cordage are uſually

ſually had) to ſignifie the Declaration of the War, and to get them to their Party, recalled their Ambaſſadors from *England*; and the Rump, without delay, gave them their parting Audience; without abating a Syllable of their former ſevere Propoſitions. And preſently to maintain the War for the next year, laid a Tax upon the People of 120000 *l. per Menſem.*

B. What was done in the mean time at home?

A. Cromwel was now quarreling (the laſt and greateſt obſtacle to his Deſign) the Rump. And to that end there came out daily from the Army Petitions, Addreſſes, Remonſtrances, and other ſuch Papers: ſome of them urging the Rump to diſſolve themſelves, and make way for another Parliament. To which the Rump unwilling to yield, and not daring to refuſe, determined for the end of their ſitting the fifth of *November* 1654. But *Cromwel* meant not to ſtay ſo long. In the mean time the Army in *Ireland* was taking Submiſſions, and granting Tranſportations of the *Iriſh*, and condemning whom they pleas'd in a High Court of Juſtice erected there for that purpoſe. Amongſt thoſe that were executed was hang'd Sir *Phelim Oneale*, who firſt began the Rebellion.

In *Scotland* the *Engliſh* built ſome Citadels for the bridling of that ſtubborn Nation: and thus ended the year 1652.

B. Come we then to the year 1653.

A. Cromwel wanted now but one ſtep to the end of his Ambition, and that was to ſet his Foot upon the Neck of this Long Parliament, which he did *April* the 23*d* of this preſent year 1653. a time very ſeaſonable. For though the *Dutch* were not maſtered, yet they were much weakned; and what with Prizes from the Enemy, and ſqueezing the Royal Party, the Treaſury was pretty full, and the Tax of 120000 *l.* a month began to come in; all which was his own in right of the Army.

Therefore without more ado, attended by the Major-Generals *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, and ſome other Officers, and as many Soldiers, as he thought fit, he went to the Parliament-houſe, and diſſolv'd them, turned them out and locked up the doors. And for this Action he was more applauded by the People, than for any of his Victories in the War, and the Parliament-men as much ſcorned and derided.

B. Now that there was no Parliament, who had the Supream Power?

A. If by Power you mean the Right to govern, no body had it: if you mean the Supream Strength it was clearly in *Crom-*

wel,

wel, who was obeyed as General of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

B. Did he pretend that for Title?

A. No: but presently after he invented a Title, which was this; That he was necessitated for the defence of the Cause, for which at first the Parliament had taken up Arms (that is to say rebelled) to have recourse to extraordinary Actions. You know the pretence of the Long Parliaments Rebellion was *Salus Populi*, The safety of the Nation against a dangerous Conspiracy of Papists, and a Malignant Party at home, and that every man is bound, as far as his Power extends, to procure the safety of the whole Nation, (which none but the Army were able to do; and the Parliament had hitherto neglected) was it not then the General's Duty to do it? Had he not therefore Right? For that Law of *Salus Populi* is directed only to those that have Power enough to defend the People; that is, to them that have the Supream Power.

B. Yes certainly, he had as good a Title as the Long Parliament, But the Long Parliament did represent the People; and it seems to me, that the Sovereign Power is essentially annexed to the Representative of the People.

A. Yes

A. Yes, if he that makes a Repreſentative, that is, (in the preſent Caſe) the King do call them together to receive the Sovereign Power, and he diveſt himſelf thereof; otherwiſe not. Nor was ever the Lower Houſe of Parliament the Repreſentative of the whole Nation, but of the Commons only; nor had that Houſe the power to oblige, by their Acts, or Ordinances, any Lord, or any Prieſt.

B. Did *Cromwel* come in upon the only Title of *Salus Populi?*

A. This is a Title that very few men underſtand. His way was to get the Supream Power confer'd upon him by Parliament. Therefore he call'd a Parliament, and gave it the Supream Power, to the end that they ſhould give it to him again. Was not this witty? Firſt therefore he publiſhed a Declaration of the Cauſes why he diſſolv'd the Parliament. The ſum whereof was, that in ſtead of endeavouring to promote the good of God's People, they endeavour'd (by a Bill then ready to paſs) to recruit the Houſe, and perpetuate their own Power. Next he conſtituted a Councel of State of his own Creatures, to be the Supream Authority of *England*; but no longer than till the next Parliament ſhould be called, and met. Thirdly, he ſummoned 142 Perſons, ſuch as

as he himſelf, or his Truſty Officers made choice of: the greateſt part of whom were inſtructed what to do, obſcure Perſons, and moſt of them Fanaticks, though ſtiled by *Cromwel* men of approved fidelity and honeſty. To theſe the Councel of State ſurrendred the Supream Authority, and not long after theſe men ſurrendred it to *Cromwel*. *July* the fourth this Parliament met, and choſe for the Speaker one Mr. *Rous*, and called themſelves from that time forward the Parliament of *England*: but *Cromwel*, for the more ſurety, conſtituted alſo a Councel of State, not of ſuch petty fellows as moſt of theſe were, but of himſelf, and his principal Officers. Theſe did all the buſineſs, both publick and private, making Ordinances, and giving Audience to Forreign Ambaſſadors. But he had now more Enemies than before, *Harriſon*, who was the Head of the Fifth-monarchy-men, laying down his Commiſſion, did nothing but animate his Party againſt him; for which afterwards he was impriſon'd. This little Parliament in the mean time were making of Acts ſo ridiculous, and diſpleaſing to the People, that it was thought he choſe them on purpoſe to bring all Ruling Parliaments into contempt, and Monarchy again into credit.

B. What Acts were theſe?

A. One

A. One of them was; That all Marriages ſhould be made by a Juſtice of Peace, and the Banes asked three ſeveral days in the next Market: None were forbidden to be married by a Miniſter, but without a Juſtice of Peace the Marriage was to be void: So that divers wary Couples (to be ſure of one another, howſoever they might repent it afterwards) were married both ways. Alſo they abrogated the Engagement, whereby no man was admitted to ſue in any Court of Law, that had not taken it, that is, that had not acknowledged the late Rump.

B. Neither of theſe did any hurt to *Cromwel.*

A. They were alſo in hand with an Act to cancel all the preſent Laws and Law-Books, and to make a new Code more ſuitable to the humor of the Fifth-monarchy-men; of whom there were many in this Parliament. Their Tenent being, that there ought none to be Sovereign, but King *Jeſus*, nor any to govern under him, but the Saints. But their Authority ended before this Act paſſed.

B. What is this to *Cromwel?*

A. Nothing yet. But they were likewiſe upon an Act, now almoſt ready for the Queſtion; That Parliaments henceforward, one upon the end of another, ſhould be perpetual.

B. I underſtand not this, unleſs Parliaments can beget one another like Animals, or like the Phœnix.

A. Why not like the Phœnix? Cannot a Parliament at the day of their expiration ſend out Writs for a new one?

B. Do you think they would not rather ſummon themſelves anew, and to ſave the labour of coming again to *Weſtminſter* ſit ſtill where they were? Or if they ſummon the Country to make new Elections, and then diſſolve themſelves, by what Authority ſhall the People meet in their Country-Courts, there being no Supream Authority ſtanding?

A. All they did was abſurd, though they knew not that, no nor this, whoſe Deſign was upon the Sovereignty, the Contriver of this Act, it ſeems, perceived not, but *Cromwel*'s Party in the Houſe ſaw it well enough. And therefore, as ſoon as it was laid, there ſtood up one of the Members, and made a Motion, that ſince the Common-wealth was like to receive little benefit by their ſitting, they ſhould diſſolve themſelves. *Harriſon*, and they of his Sect, were troubled hereat, and made Speeches againſt it: but *Cromwel*'s Party, of whom the Speaker was one, left the Houſe, and with the Mace before them went to *White-hall*, and ſurrendred their

their Power to *Cromwel* that had given it them. And so he got the Sovereignty by an Act of Parliament, and within four days after, *viz. December* the 16*th*, was installed Protector of the three Nations, and took his Oath to observe certain Rules of governing, ingrossed in Parchment, and read before him: The Writing was called the Instrument.

B. What were the Rules he swore to?

A. One was to call a Parliament every third year, of which the first was to begin *September* the third following.

B. I believe he was a little superstitious in the choice of *September* the third, because it was lucky to him in 1650. and 1651. at *Dunbar*, and *Worcester*; but he knew not how lucky the same would be to the whole Nation in 1658. at *Whitehall*.

A. Another was; That no Parliament should be dissolved, till it had sitten five Months; and those Bills that they presented to him, should be passed by him within twenty days, or else they should pass without him.

A Third; That he should have a Councel of State of not above 21, nor under 13; and that upon the Protectors death this Councel should meet, and before they parted choose a new Protector. There were

were many more beſides, but not neceſſary to be inſerted.

B. How went on the War againſt the *Dutch*?

A. The Generals for the *Engliſh* were *Blake*, and *Dean*, and *Monk*, and *Van Tromp* for the *Dutch*, between whom was a Battle fought the ſecond of *June*, (which was a month before the beginning of this little Parliament) wherein the *Engliſh* had the Victory, and drove the Enemies into their Harbors, but with the loſs of General *Dean*, ſlain by a Canon-ſhot. This Victory was great enough to make the *Dutch* ſend over Ambaſſadors into *England* in order to a Treaty; but in the mean time they prepared and put to Sea another Fleet, which likewiſe in the end of *July* was defeated by General *Monk*, who got now a greater Victory than before: and this made the *Dutch* deſcend ſo far as to buy their Peace with the payment of the charge of the War, and with the acknowledgment amongſt other Articles, that the *Engliſh* had the Right of the Flag. This Peace was concluded in *March*, being the end of this year: but not proclaimed till *April*; the Money (it ſeems) being not paid till then.

The *Dutch* War being now ended, the Protector ſent his youngeſt Son *Henry* into

into *Ireland*, whom alſo ſome time after he made Lieutenant there; and ſent *Monk* Lieutenant-General into *Scotland*, to keep thoſe Nations in obedience. Nothing elſe worth remembring was done this year at home; ſaving the diſcovery of a Plot of Royaliſts (as was ſaid) upon the Life of the Protector, who all this while had Intelligence of the King's Deſigns from a Traitor in his Court, who afterwards was taken in the manner and killed.

B. How came he into ſo much truſt with with the King?

A. He was the Son of a Collonel that was ſlain in the Wars on the late King's ſide. Beſides, he pretended Employment from the King's Loyal and Loving Subjects here, to convey to his Majeſty Money, as they from time to time ſhould ſend him; and to make this credible, *Cromwel* himſelf cauſed Money to be ſent to him.

The following year 1654, had nothing of War, but was ſpent in Civil Ordinances, in appointing of Judges, preventing of Plots, (for Uſurpers are jealous) and in Executing the King's Friends, and ſelling their Lands. The third of *September*, according to the Inſtrument, the Parliament met, in which there was no Houſe of Lords; and the Houſe of Commons was made as formerly, of Knights and Burgeſſes;

geſſes, but not as formerly of two Burgeſſes for a Burrough, and two Knights for a County: for Burroughs for the moſt part had but one Burgeſs, and ſome Counties ſix or ſeven Knights: Beſides, there were twenty Members for *Scotland*, and as many for *Ireland*. So that now *Cromwel* had nothing elſe to do, but to ſhew his Art of Government upon ſix Coach-Horſes newly preſented him, which being as Rebellious as himſelf, threw him out of the Coach-box, and almoſt killed him.

B. This Parliament which had ſeen how *Cromwel* had handled the two former, the Long one and the Short one, had ſurely learnt the wit to behave themſelves better to him, than thoſe had done.

A. Yes, eſpecially now that *Cromwel* in his Speech at their firſt Meeting had expreſly forbidden them to meddle, either with the Government by a ſingle Perſon and Parliament, or with the Militia, or with perpetuating of Parliaments, or taking away Liberty of Conſcience: and told them alſo, that every Member of the Houſe, before they ſate, muſt take a Recognition of his Power in divers Points. Whereupon of above 400 there appeared not above 200 at firſt; though afterwards ſome relenting, there ſate about 300. A-

gain, juſt at their ſitting down he publiſhed ſome Ordinances of his own, bearing date before their meeting; that they might ſee he took his own Acts to be as valid as theirs. But all this could not make them know themſelves. They proceeded to the Debate of every Article of the Recognition.

B. They ſhould have debated that before they had taken it.

A. But then they had never been ſuffered to ſit.

Cromwel being informed of their ſtubborn proceedings, and out of hope of any ſupply from them, diſſolved them.

All that paſſed beſides in this year was the exerciſe of the High Court of Juſtice upon ſome Royaliſts for Plots.

In the year 1655. the *Engliſh*, to the number of near 10000, landed in *Hiſpaniola* in hope of the plunder of the Gold and Silver, whereof they thought there was great abundance in the Town of *Santo Domingo*; but were well beaten by a few *Spaniards*; and with the loſs of near 1000 men, went off to *Jamaica* and poſſeſſed it.

This year alſo the Royal Party made another attempt in the Weſt; and proclaimed there King *Charles* the Second: but few joyning with them, and ſome falling off, they

they were ſoon ſuppreſſed, and many of the principal Perſons executed.

B. In theſe many Inſurrections the Royaliſts, though they meant well, yet they did but diſſervice to the King by their Impatience. What hope had they to prevail againſt ſo great an Army as the Protector had ready? What cauſe was there to deſpair of ſeeing the King's buſineſs done better by the Diſſention and Ambition of the great Commanders in that Army; whereof many had the favour to be as well eſteemed amongſt them as *Cromwel* himſelf?

A. That was ſomewhat uncertain. The Protector being fruſtrated of his hope of Money at *Santo Domingo*, reſolved to take from the Royaliſts the tenth part yearly of their Eſtates. And to this end chiefly he divided *England* into eleven Major-Generalſhips, with Commiſſion to every Major-General to make a Roll of the Names of all ſuſpected Perſons of the King's Party, and to receive the tenth part of their Eſtates within his Precinct; as alſo to take Caution from them not to act againſt the State; and to reveal all Plots that ſhould come to their knowledge, and to make them engage the like for their Servants. They had Commiſſion alſo to forbid Horſe-races and Concourſe of People, and to receive and account for this Decimation.

B. By this the Uſurper might eaſily inform himſelf of the value of all the Eſtates in *England*, and of the behaviour and affection of every Perſon of Quality; which has heretofore been taken for very great Tyranny.

A. The year 1656. was a Parliament year by the Inſtrument, between the beginning of this year, and the day of the Parliaments ſitting, which was *September* the 17*th*, theſe Major-Generals reſided in ſeveral Provinces, behaving themſelves moſt tyrannically. Amongſt other of their Tyrannies was the awing of Elections, and making themſelves, and whom they pleas'd, to be return'd Members for the Parliament, which was alſo thought a part of *Cromwel's* Deſign in their Conſtitution: for he had need of a giving Parliament, having lately upon a Peace made with the *French*, drawn upon himſelf a War with *Spain.*

This year it was that Captain *Stainer* ſet upon the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet, being eight in number, near *Cadiz*, whereof he ſunk two and took two, there being in one of them two Millions of Pieces of Eight, which amounts to 400000 *l.* Sterling.

This year alſo it was that *James Naylor* appeared at *Briſtol*, and would be taken for

for Jeſus Chriſt. He wore his Beard forked, and his Hair compoſed to the likeneſs of that in the *Volto Santo*; and being queſtion'd, would ſometimes anſwer, *Thou ſayeſt it.* He had alſo his Diſciples that would go by his Horſe ſide, to the mid-leg in dirt. Being ſent for by the Parliament, he was ſentenced to ſtand on the Pillory, to have his Tongue bored through, and to be marked in the Forehead with the Letter *B.* for Blaſphemy, and to remain in *Bridewel. Lambert*, a great Favorite of the Army, endeavour'd to ſave him, partly, becauſe he had been his Soldier, and partly to curry favour with the Sectaries of the Army; for he was now no more in the Protector's favour, but meditating how he might ſucceed him in his Power.

About two years before this there appeared in *Cornwal* a Propheteſs much fam'd for her Dreams and Viſions, and hearkned to by many, whereof ſome were eminent Officers; but ſhe and ſome of her Complices being impriſon'd, we heard no more of her.

B. I have heard of another, one *Lilly*, that prophecied all the time of the Long Parliament. What did they to him?

A. His Prophecies were of another kind; he was a writer of Almanacks, and a pre-

tender to a pretended Art of Judicial Aſtrology, a meer Cozener to get maintenance from a multitude of ignorant People, and no doubt had been called in queſtion, if his Prophecies had been any way diſadvantageous to that Parliament.

B. I underſtand not how the Dreams and Prognoſtications of Mad men (for ſuch I take to be all thoſe that foretel future Contingencies) can be of any great diſadvantage to the Common wealth.

A. Yes, yes: know there is nothing that renders Humane Counſels difficult, but the incertainty of future time, nor that ſo well directs men in their Deliberations, as the fore-ſight of the Sequels of their Actions; Prophecie being many times the principal Cauſe of the Event foretold. If upon ſome prediction the People ſhould have been made confident, that *Oliver Cromwel* and his Army ſhould be upon a day to come utterly defeated; would not every one have endeavoured to aſſiſt, and to deſerve well of the Party that ſhould give him that Defeat? Upon this account it was, that Fortune-tellers and Aſtrologers were ſo often baniſhed out of *Rome.*

The laſt memorable thing of this year was a Motion made by a Member of the Houſe, an Alderman of *London*, that the Pro-

Protector might be petition'd and adviſ'd by the Houſe, to leave the Title of Protector, and take upon him that of King.

B. That was indeed a bold Motion, and which would, if proſperous, have put an end to many mens ambition, and to the licentiouſneſs of the whole Army. I think the Motion was made on purpoſe to ruine both the Protector himſelf, and his Ambitious Officers.

A. It may be ſo. In the year 1657. the firſt thing the Parliament did was the drawing up of this Petition to the Protector, to take upon him the Government of the three Nations, with the Title of King. As of other Parliaments, ſo of this, the greateſt part had been either kept out of the Houſe by force; or elſe themſelves had forborn to ſit, and became guilty of ſetting up this King *Oliver*. But thoſe few that ſate preſented their Petition to the Protector *April* the ninth in the Banqueting-houſe at *White-hall*, where Sir *Thomas Widdrington* the Speaker uſed the firſt Arguments, and the Protector deſir'd ſome time to ſeek God, the buſineſs being weighty. The next day they ſent a Committee to him to receive his Anſwer, which Anſwer being not very clear, they preſſed him again for a Reſolution; to which

he made anſwer in a long Speech, that ended in a peremptory refuſal: and ſo retaining ſtill the Title of Protector, he took upon him the Government according to certain Articles contained in the ſaid Petition.

B. What made him refuſe the Title of King?

A. Becauſe he durſt not take it at that time; the Army being addicted to their great Officers, and amongſt their great Officers many hoping to ſucceed him; and the Succeſſion having been promiſed to Major-General *Lambert*, would have mutinied againſt him. He was therefore forced to ſtay for a more propitious Conjuncture.

B. What were thoſe Articles?

A. The moſt Important of them were; Firſt, That he would exerciſe the Office of Chief Magiſtrate of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, under the Title of Protector, and govern the ſame according to the ſaid Petition and Advice: and that he would in his life-time name his Succeſſor.

B. I believe the *Scots*, when they firſt rebell'd, never thought of being governed abſolutely as they were by *Oliver Cromwel*.

A. Se-

A. Secondly; That he ſhould call a Parliament every three years at fartheſt. Thirdly; That thoſe Perſons which were Legally choſen Members ſhould not be ſecluded without conſent of the Houſe. (In allowing this Clauſe the Protector obſerv'd not, that the Secluded Members of this ſame Parliament are thereby re-admitted.) Fourthly, the Members were qualified. Fifthly, The Power of the other Houſe was defin'd. Sixthly, That no Law ſhould be made but by Act of Parliament. Seventhly; That a conſtant yearly Revenue of a Million of Pounds ſhould be ſetled for the maintenance of the Army and Navy; and 300000 *l.* for the ſupport of the Government, beſides other Temporary Supplies, as the Houſe of Commons ſhould think fit. Eighthly; That all the Officers of State ſhould be choſen by the Parliament. Ninthly; That the Protector ſhould encourage the Miniſtry. Laſtly; That he ſhould cauſe a Profeſſion of Religion to be agreed on, and publiſhed. There are divers others of leſs Importance.

Having ſigned the Articles he was preſently with great Ceremony inſtalled anew.

B. What needed that, ſeeing he was ſtill but Protector?

A. But

A. But the Articles of this Petition were not all the ſame with thoſe of his former Inſtrument. For now there was to be another Houſe; and whereas before his Councel was to name his Succeſſor, he had power now to do it himſelf; ſo that he was an abſolute Monarch, and might leave the Succeſſion to his Son, if he would, and ſo ſucceſſively, or transfer it to whom he pleas'd.

The Ceremony being ended, the Parliament adjourned to the 20*th* of *January* following; and then the other Houſe alſo ſate with their Fellows.

The Houſe of Commons being now full, took little notice of the other Houſe; wherein there were not of ſixty Perſons, above nine Lords, but fell a queſtioning all that their Fellows had done, during the time of their Seclusion, whence had followed the avoidance of the Power newly placed in the Protector. Therefore going to the Houſe, he made a Speech to them ending in theſe words; *By the Living God I muſt, and do diſſolve you.*

In this year the *Engliſh* gave the *Spaniard* another great Blow at *Santa Cruz*, not much leſs than that they had given him the year before at *Cadiz*.

About the time of the Diſſolution of this Parliament the Royaliſts had another Deſign

Deſign againſt the Protector, which was to make an Inſurrection in *England*, the King being in *Flanders* ready to ſecond them with an Army thence. But this alſo was diſcover'd by Treachery, and came to nothing, but the ruine of thoſe that were engaged in it; whereof many in the beginning of the next year were by a High Court of Juſtice impriſon'd, and ſome executed.

This year alſo was Major General *Lambert* put out of all Employment, a man ſecond to none but *Oliver* in the favour of the Army; but becauſe he expected by that favour, or by promiſe from the Protector, to be his Succeſſor in the Supream Power, it would have been dangerous to let him have Command in the Army; the Protector having deſign'd for his Succeſſor his eldeſt Son *Richard*.

In the year 1658. *September* the third, the Protector died at *White-hall*; having ever ſince his laſt Eſtabliſhment been perplexed with fear of being kill'd by ſome deſperate attempt of the Royaliſts.

Being importun'd in his ſickneſs by his Privy-Council to name his Succeſſor, he nam'd his Son *Richard*, who encouraged thereunto, not by his own Ambition, but by *Fleetwood*, *Desbrough*, *Thurloe*, and other of his Council, was content to take

it

it upon him, and presently Addresses were made to him from the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. His first business was the chargeable and splendid Funeral of his Father.

Thus was *Richard Cromwel* seated in the Imperial Throne of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, Successor to his Father, lifted up to it by the Officers of the Army then in Town, and congratulated by all the parts of the Army throughout the three Nations; scarce any Garrison omitting their particular flattering Addresses to him.

B. Seeing the Army approved of him, how came he so soon cast off?

A. The Army was inconstant, he himself irresolute, and without any Military Glory. And though the two principal Officers had a near relation to him; yet neither of them, but *Lambert*, was the great Favorite of the Army; and by courting *Fleetwood* to take upon him the Protectorship, and by tampering with the Soldiers, had gotten again to be a Collonel. He and the rest of the Officers had a Councel at *Wallingford-house*, (where *Fleetwood* dwelt) for the dispossessing of *Richard*, though they had not yet considered how the Nations should be govern'd afterwards; for from the beginning of the

the Rebellion the Method of Ambition was conſtantly this; firſt to deſtroy, and then to conſider what they ſhould ſet up.

B. Could not the Protector, who kept his Court at *White-hall*, diſcover what the buſineſs of the Officers was at *Wallingford-houſe* ſo near him?

A. Yes; he was by divers of his Friends inform'd of it, and councel'd by ſome of them, who would have done it, to kill the Chief of them; but he had not courage enough to give them ſuch a Commiſſion. He took therefore the Counſel of ſome milder Perſons, which was to call a Parliament. Whereupon Writs were preſently ſent to thoſe that were in the laſt Parliament of the other Houſe, and other Writs to the Sheriffs for the Election of Knights and Burgeſſes, to aſſemble on the 27*th* of *January* following. Elections were made according to the Ancient manner, and a Houſe of Commons now of the right *Engliſh* temper, and about 400 in number, including twenty for *Scotland*, and as many for *Ireland*. Being met, they take themſelves, without the Protector and other Houſe, to be a Parliament, and to have the Supream Power of the three Nations.

For the first business, they intended the Power of that other House: but because the Protector had recommended to them, for their first business, an Act (already drawn up) for the Recognition of his Protectoral Power; they began with that; and voted, (after a fortnights Deliberation) that an Act should be made, whereof this Act of Recognition should be part, and that another part should be for the bounding of the Protector's Power, and for the securing the Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject; and that all should pass together.

B. Why did these Men obey the Protector at first, in meeting upon his only Summons? Was not that as full a Recognition of his Power as was needful? Why by this Example did they teach the People that he was to be obeyed, and then by putting Laws upon him, teach them the contrary? Was it not the Protector that made the Parliament? Why did they not acknowledge their Maker?

A. I believe it is the desire of most men to bear Rule, but few of them know what Title one has to it more than another, besides the Right of the Sword.

B. If they acknowledged the Right of the Sword, they were neither just, nor wise to oppose the present Government, set

ſet up and approved by all the Forces of the three Kingdoms. The Principles of this Houſe of Commons were, no doubt, the very ſame with theirs who began the Rebellion; and would (if they could have raiſed a ſufficient Army) have done the ſame againſt the Protector; and the General of their Army would, in like manner, have reduced them to a Rump: for they that keep an Army, and cannot maſter it, muſt be ſubject to it as much as he that keeps a Lion in his Houſe. The temper of all the Parliaments, ſince the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, has been the ſame with the temper of this Parliament, and ſhall always be ſuch as long as the Presbyterians and men of Democratical Principles have the like Influence upon the Elections.

A. After they reſolv'd concerning the other Houſe; that during this Parliament they would tranſact with it, but without intrenching upon the Right of the Peers, to have Writs ſent to them in all future Parliaments. Theſe Votes being paſſed, they proceed to another, wherein they aſſume to themſelves the Power of the Militia. Alſo to ſhew their Supream Power, they deliver'd out of priſon ſome of thoſe that had been (they ſaid) illegally committed by the former Protector. Other Points

Points concerning Civil Rights, and concerning Religion, very pleaſing to the People, were now alſo under their Conſideration. So that in the end of this year the Protector was no leſs jealous of the Parliament than of the Councel of Officers at *Wallingford-houſe.*

B. Thus 'tis when ignorant men will undertake Reformation. Here are three Parties, the Protector, the Parliament, and the Army. The Protector againſt Parliament and Army; the Parliament againſt Army and Protector, and the Army againſt Protector and Parliament.

A. In the beginning of 1659. the Parliament paſſed divers other Acts; one was to forbid the Meetings in Councel of the Army-Officers without order from the Protector, and both Houſes. Another, That no man ſhall have any Command or Truſt in the Army, who did not firſt under his hand engage himſelf, never to interrupt any of the Members, but that they might freely meet and debate in the Houſe. And to pleaſe the Soldiers, they voted to take preſently into their Conſideration the means of paying them their Arrears. But whilſt they were conſidering this, the Protector (according to the firſt of thoſe Acts) forbad the meeting of Officers at *Wallingford-houſe.* This made the Government,

ment, which by the disagreement of the Protector and Army was already loose, to fall in pieces. For the Officers from *Wallingford-house*, with Soldiers enough, came over to *White-hall*, and brought with them a Commission ready drawn (giving power to *Desborough* to dissolve the Parliament) for the Protector to sign; which also his Heart and his Party failing him, he signed. The Parliament nevertheless continued sitting, but at the end of the Week, the House adjourned till the *Monday* after, being *April* the *25th*. At their coming on *Monday* morning, they found the door of the House shut up, and the passages to it filled with Soldiers, who plainly told them they must sit no longer. *Richard's* Authority, and business in Town, being thus at an end, he retir'd into the Country, where within a few days (upon promise of the payment of his Debts, which his Father's Funeral had made great) he signed a Resignation of his Protectorship.

B. To whom?

A. To no body. But after ten days Cessation of the Sovereign Power, some of the Rumpers that were in Town together with the old Speaker Mr. *William Lenthal*, resolv'd amongst themselves, and with *Lambert*, *Heslerig*, and other Offi-

cers, who were alſo Rumpers, in all 42, to go into the Houſe, which they did, and were by the Army declared to be the Parliament.

There were alſo in *Weſtminſter-hall* at that time, about their private buſineſs, ſome few of thoſe whom the Army had ſecluded in 1648. and were called the Secluded Members. Theſe knowing themſelves to have been elected by the ſame Authority, and to have the ſame Right to ſit, attempted to get into the Houſe, but were kept out by the Soldiers. The firſt Vote of the Rump re-ſeated was; That ſuch perſons as heretofore Members of this Parliament have not ſitten in this Parliament ſince the year 1648. ſhall not ſit in this Houſe, till farther order of the Parliament; and thus the Rump recovered their Authority *May* the ſeventh 1659. which they loſt in *April* 1653.

B. Seeing there have been ſo many Shiftings of the Supream Authority, I pray you for memories ſake, repeat them briefly in times and order.

A. Firſt; from 1640. to 1648. when the King was murdered, the Sovereignty was diſputed between King *Charles* the firſt, and the Presbyterian-Parliament. Secondly, from 1648. to 1653. the Power was in that part of the Parliament which voted

voted the Tryal of the King, and declar'd themſelves, without King or Houſe of Lords, to have the Supream Authority of *England* and *Ireland*. For there were in the Long Parliament two Factions, the Presbyterian and Independent, the former whereof ſought only the ſubjection of the King, not his deſtruction directly, the latter ſought directly his deſtruction, and this part is it which was called the Rump. Thirdly, from *April* the 20*th* to *July* the fourth the Supream Power was in the hands of a Councel of State conſtituted by *Cromwel*. Fourthly, from *July* the 4*th* to *December* the 12*th* of the ſame year, it was in the hands of men called unto it by *Cromwel*, whom he termed Men of Fidelity and Integrity, and made them a Parliament, which was called in contempt of one of the Members *Barebone*'s Parliament. Fifthly, from *December* the 12*th* 1653. to *September* the third 1658. it was in the hands of *Oliver Cromwel* with the Title of Protector. Sixthly, from *September* the third 1658. to *April* the 25*th* 1659. *Richard Cromwel* had it as Succeſſor to his Father. Seventhly, from *April* the 25*th* 1659. to *May* the ſeventh of the ſame year, it was no where. Eighthly, from *May* the ſeventh 1659. the Rump which was turned out of doors in 1653. recover'd it again,

and shall lose it again to a Committee of Safety, and again recover it, and again lose it to the Right Owner.

B. By whom, and by what Art came the Rump to be turned out the second time?

A. One would think them safe enough; the Army in *Scotland*, which when it was in *London*, had helped *Oliver* to put down the Rump, submitted now, begg'd pardon, and promised obedience. The Soldiers in Town had their pay mended, and the Commanders every where took the old Engagement, whereby they had acknowledged their Authority heretofore. They also receiv'd their Commissions in the House it self from the Speaker, who was *Generalissimo*. *Fleetwood* was made Lieutenant General with such, and so many Limitations, as were thought necessary by the Rump, that remembred how they had been served by the General *Oliver*. Also *Henry Cromwel*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, having resigned his Commission by Command, returned into *England*.

But *Lambert*, to whom (as was said) *Oliver* had promised the Succession, and as well as the Rump knew the way to the Protectorship, by *Oliver*'s own foot-steps, was resolv'd to proceed in it, upon the first oppor-

opportunity, which preſented it ſelf preſently after.

Beſides ſome Plots of Royaliſts, whom after the old faſhion they again perſecuted, there was an Inſurrection made againſt them by Presbyterians in *Cheſhire*, headed by Sir *George Booth*, one of the Secluded Members, they were in number about 3000, and their pretence was for a Free Parliament; there was a great talk of another Riſing, or endeavour to riſe in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, at the ſame time. To ſuppreſs Sir *George Booth*, the Rump ſent down more than a ſufficient Army under *Lambert*, which quickly defeated the *Cheſhire* Party, and recovered *Cheſter*, *Leverpool*, and all the other places they had ſeized. Divers alſo of their Commanders in and after the Battle were taken Priſoners, whereof Sir *George Booth* himſelf was one.

This Exploit done, *Lambert* before his return, Careſſed his Soldiers with an Entertainment at his own Houſe in *York-ſhire*, and got their conſent to a Petition to be made to the Houſe, that a General might be ſet up in the Army, as being unfit that the Army ſhould be judged by any power extrinſick to it ſelf.

B. I do not ſee that unfitneſs.

A. Nor I. But it was (as I have heard) an Axiom of Sir *Henry Vane's*: but it ſo much diſpleaſed the Rump, that they voted, That the having of more Generals in the Army than were already ſetled, was unneceſſary, burthenſome, and dangerous to the Common wealth.

B. This was not *Oliver's* method: for though this *Cheſhire*-Victory had been as glorious as that of *Oliver* at *Dunbar*, yet it was not the Victory that made *Oliver* General, but the Reſignation of *Fairfax*, and the profer of it to *Cromwel* by the Parliament.

A. But *Lambert* thought ſo well of himſelf, as to expect it: therefore, at his return to *London*, he and other Officers Aſſembling at *Wallingford-houſe*, drew their Petition into form, and call'd it a Repreſentation, wherein the Chief Point was to have a General; but many other of leſs Importance were added; and this they repreſented to the Houſe *October* the fourth by Major-General *Desborough*: and this ſo far forth awed them, as to teach them ſo much good manners as to promiſe to take it preſently into debate. Which they did; and *October* the 12*th*, having recovered their Spirits, voted; That the Commiſſions of *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and others of the Councel at *Wallingford-houſe*, ſhould

ſhould be void. *Item*, That the Army ſhould be govern'd by a Commiſſion to *Fleetwood*, *Monk*, *Haſlerig*, *Walton*, *Morley* and *Overton*, till *February* the 12*th* following. And to make this good againſt the force they expected from *Lambert*, they ordered *Haſlerig* and *Morley* to iſſue Warrants to ſuch Officers as they could truſt, to bring their Soldiers next morning into *Weſtminſter*, which was done ſomewhat too late; for *Lambert* had firſt brought his Soldiers thither, and beſet the Houſe, and turned back the Speaker, which was then coming to it: but *Haſlerig*'s Forces marching about St. *James*'s Park-wall, came into St. *Margaret*'s Church-yard; and ſo both Parties looked all day one upon another, like Enemies, but offered not to fight, whereby the Rump was put out of poſſeſſion of the Houſe; and the Officers continued their Meeting, as before, at *Wallingford-houſe*.

There they choſe from among themſelves, with ſome few of the City, a Committee, which they called the Committee of Safety; whereof the Chief were *Lambert* and *Vane*, who with the advice of a General Councel of Officers, had power to call Delinquents to Trial. To ſuppreſs Rebellions; To treat with Forreign States, *&c.* You ſee now the Rump cut off, and

the Supream Power (which is charged with *Salus Populi*) transfer'd to a Councel of Officers. And yet *Lambert* hopes for it in the end. But one of their Limitations was; That they ſhould within ſix weeks preſent to the Army a new Model of the Government; if they had done ſo, do you think they would have prefer'd *Lambert* or any other to the Supream Authority therein, rather than themſelves?

B. I think not. When the Rump had put into Commiſſion (amongſt a few others) for the Government of the Army, that is to ſay, for the Government of the three Nations, General *Monk*, already Commander in Chief of the Army in *Scotland*, and that had done much greater things in this War, than *Lambert*; how durſt they leave him out of this Committee of Safety? Or how could *Lambert* think that General *Monk* would forgive it, and not endeavour to faſten the Rump again?

A. They thought not of him; his Gallantry had been ſhewn on remote Stages, *Ireland* and *Scotland*. His Ambition had not appear'd here in their Contentions for the Government, but he had complied both with *Richard* and the Rump. After General *Monk* had ſignified by Letter

ter his diſlike of the Proceedings of *Lambert* and his Fellows, they were much ſurpriz'd, and began to think him more conſiderable than they had done; but it was too late.

B. Why? His Army was too ſmall for ſo great an Enterprize.

A. The General knew very well his own, and their Forces; both what they were then, and how they might be augmented, and what generally City and Country wiſhed for, which was the Reſtitution of the King: which to bring about there needed no more, but to come with his Army (though not very great) to *London:* To the doing whereof there was no obſtacle but the Army with *Lambert.* What could he do in this Caſe? If he had declar'd preſently for the King, or for a Free-Parliament, all the Armies in *England* would have joyned againſt him, and aſſuming the Title of a Parliament, would have furniſhed themſelves with Money.

General *Monk*, after he had thus quarrelled by his Letter with the Councel-Officers, ſecur'd firſt thoſe Officers of his own Army, which were Anabaptiſts, and therefore not to be truſted, and put others into their places; then drawing his Forces together, marched to *Barwick.*

Being

Being there he indicted a Convention of the *Scots*, of whom he desir'd that they would take order for the security of that Nation in his absence, and raise some maintenance for his Army in their March. The Convention promised for the security of the Nation their best endeavour, and raised him a Sum of Money, not great, but enough for this purpose, excusing themselves upon their present wants. On the other side, the Committee of Safety, with the greatest and best part of their Army, sent *Lambert* to oppose him; but at the same time by divers Messages and Mediators, urged him to a Treaty; which he consented to, and sent three Officers to *London* to Treat with as many of theirs. These six suddenly concluded (without power from the General) upon these Articles; That the King be excluded; a Free State setled; the Ministry and Universities encouraged, with divers others. Which the General liked not, and imprisoned one of his Commissioners for exceeding his Commission. Whereupon another Treaty was agreed on of five to five. But whilst these Treaties were in hand, *Haslerig*, a Member of the Rump, seized on *Portsmouth*, and the Soldiers sent by the Committee of Safety to reduce it, instead of that, entred into the

the Town, and joyned with *Haſlerig*. Secondly, the City renewed their Tumults for a Free-Parliament. Thirdly, the Lord *Fairfax*, a Member alſo of the Rump, and greatly favour'd in *York-ſhire*, was raiſing Forces there behind *Lambert*, who being now between two Armies, his Enemies, would gladly have fought with the General. Fourthly, there came news that *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal* were Liſting of Soldiers. Laſtly, *Lambert's* Army wanting Money, and ſure they ſhould not be furniſhed from the Councel of Officers, which had neither Authority, nor Strength to Levy Money, grew diſcontented, and (for their free Quarter) were odious to the Northern Countries.

B. I wonder why the *Scots* were ſo ready to furniſh General *Monk* with Money; for they were no Friends to the Rump?

A. I know not; but I believe the *Scots* would have parted with a greater Sum, rather than the *Engliſh* ſhould not have gone together by the ears amongſt themſelves. The Councel of Officers being now beſet with ſo many Enemies, produced ſpeedily their Model of Government, which was to have a Free-Parliament, which ſhould meet *Decemher* the 15*th*;

15*th*, but with ſuch qualifications of no King, no Houſe of Lords, as made the City more angry than before. To ſend Soldiers into the Weſt, to ſuppreſs thoſe that were riſing there, they durſt not, for fear of the City; nor could they raiſe any other for want of Money. There remained nothing but to break, and quitting *Walling ford-houſe*, to ſhift for themſelves.

This coming to the knowledge of their Army in the North, they deſerted *Lambert*; and the Rump the 26*th* of *December* repoſſeſſed the Houſe.

B. Seeing the Rump was now re-ſeated, the buſineſs pretended by General *Monk* for his marching to *London* was at an end.

A. The Rump, though ſeated, was not well ſetled, but (in the midſt of ſo many Tumults for a Free-Parliament) had as much need of the General's coming up now, as before. He therefore ſent them word, that becauſe he thought them not yet ſecure enough, he would come up to *London* with his Army; which they not only accepted, but alſo intreated him to do, and voted him for his Services 1000 *l.* a year.

The General marching towards *London*, the Country every where petition'd him for

for a Free-Parliament. The Rump, to make room in *London* for his Army, diſlodged their own. The General for all that, had not let fall a word in all this time, that could be taken for a Declaration of his final Deſign.

B. How did the Rump revenge themſelves on *Lambert*?

A. They never troubled him; nor do I know any cauſe of ſo gentle dealing with him: but certainly *Lambert* was the ableſt of any Officer they had to do them ſervice, when they ſhould have means, and need to employ him. After the General was come to *London*, the Rump ſent to the City for their part of a Tax of 100000 *l.* a month, for ſix months, according to an Act, which the Rump had made formerly, before their diſſeizin by the Committee of Safety. But the City, who were adverſe to the Rump, and keen upon a Free-Parliament, could not be brought to give their Money to their Enemies, and to purpoſes repugnant to their own. Hereupon the Rump ſent order to the General to break down the City Gates and their Portcullices, and to impriſon certain obſtinate Citizens. This he performed, and it was the laſt ſervice he did them.

About

About this time the Commiſſion, by which General *Monk*, with others, had the Government of the Army put into their hands by the Rump, before the uſurpation of the Councel of Officers, came to expire, which the preſent Rump renewed.

B. He was thereby the ſixth part of the General of the whole Forces of the Common-wealth. If I had been as the Rump, he ſhould have been ſole General. In ſuch Caſes as this, there cannot be a greater Vice than pinching. Ambition ſhould be liberal.

A. After the pulling down of the City Gates, the General ſent a Letter to the Rump to let them know, that that Service was much againſt his Nature, and to put them in mind how well the City had ſerv'd the Parliament throughout the whole War.

B. Yes. But for the City the Parliament could never have made the War, nor the Rump ever have murdered the King.

A. The Rump conſidered not the merit of the City, nor the good Nature of the General. They were buſie. They were giving out Commiſſions; making of Acts for Abjuration of the King and his Line, and for the Old Engagement and con-

conferring with the City to get Money. The General alſo deſir'd to hear Conference between ſome of the Rump, and ſome of the Secluded Members, concerning the Juſtice of their Secluſion, and of the hurt that could follow from their re-admiſſion. And it was granted, after long Conference, the General finding the Rump's pretences unreaſonable and ambitious, declared himſelf, with the City, for a Free-Parliament, and came to *Weſtminſter* with the Secluded Members, (whom he had appointed to meet and ſtay for him at *White hall*) and replaced them in the Houſe amongſt the Rumpers; ſo that now the ſame Cattle that were in the Houſe of Commons in 1640. (except thoſe that were dead, and thoſe that went from them to the late King at *Oxford*) are all there again.

B. But this (methinks) was no good Service to the King, unleſs they had learnt better Principles.

A. They had learnt nothing. The Major part was now again Presbyterian. 'Tis true they were ſo grateful to General *Monk*, as to make him General of all the Forces in the three Nations. They did well alſo to make void the Engagement; but it was becauſe thoſe Acts were made to the prejudice of their Party; but re-

called

called none of their own Rebellious Ordinances, nor did any thing in order to the good of the preſent King: but on the contrary they declared by a Vote, that the late King began the War againſt his two Houſes.

B. The two Houſes conſidered as two Perſons, were they not two of the King's Subjects? If a King raiſe an Army againſt his Subject, is it lawful for that Subject to reſiſt with force, when (as in this Caſe) he might have had peace upon his ſubmiſſion?

A. They knew they had acted vilely and ſottiſhly; but becauſe they had always pretended to greater than ordinary wiſdom and godlineſs, they were loth to confeſs it. The Presbyterians now ſaw their time to make a Confeſſion of their Faith, and preſented it to the Houſe of Commons, to ſhew they had not changed their Principles, which (after ſix readings in the Houſe) was voted to be printed, and once a year to be read publickly in every Church.

B. I ſay again, this re-eſtabliſhing of the Long Parliament was no good ſervice to the King.

A. Have a little patience. They were re-eſtabliſhed with two Conditions. One to determine their ſitting before the end of

of *March*; another to ſend out Writs before their riſing for new Elections.

B. That qualifies.

A. That brought in the King: for few of this Long Parliament (the Country having felt the ſmart of their former Service) could get themſelves choſen again. This New Parliament began to ſit *April* the 25*th* 1660. How ſoon theſe called in the King; with what Joy and Triumph he was receiv'd; how earneſtly his Majeſty preſſed the Parliament for the Act of Oblivion, and how few were excepted out of it, you know as well as I.

B. But I have not yet obſerved in the Presbyterians any oblivion of their former Principles. We are but returned to the ſtate we were in at the beginning of the Sedition.

A. Not ſo: for before that time, though the Kings of *England* had the Right of the Militia in vertue of the Sovereignty, and without diſpute, and without any particular Act of Parliament directly to that purpoſe; yet now, after this bloody diſpute, the next (which is the preſent) Parliament in proper and expreſs terms hath declar'd the ſame to be the Right of the King only, without either of his Houſes of Parliament; which Act is more

inſtructive to the People, than any Arguments drawn from the Title of Sovereign, and conſequently fitter to diſarm the Ambition of all ſeditious Haranguers for the time to come.

B. I pray God it prove ſo. Howſoever I muſt confeſs, that this Parliament has done all that a Parliament can do for the ſecurity of our Peace: which I think alſo would be enough, if Preachers would take heed of inſtilling evil Principles into their Auditory. I have ſeen in this Revolution a circular motion, of the Sovereign Power through two Uſurpers, from the late King to this his Son: for (leaving out the Power of the Councel of Officers, which was but temporary, and no otherwiſe owned by them, but in truſt) it moved from King *Charles* the Firſt to the Long Parliament, from thence to the Rump, from the Rump to *Oliver Cromwel*, and then back again from *Richard Cromwel* to the Rump, thence to the Long Parliament, and thence to King *Charles* the Second, where long may it remain.

A. Amen. And may he have as often as there ſhall be need ſuch a General.

B. You

B. You have told me little of the General till now in the end: but truly, I think, the bringing of his little Army intirely out of *Scotland*, up to *London*, was the greatest Stratagem that is extant in History.

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